

# The Social Studies

VOLUME XLII, NUMBER 2

*Continuing The Historical Outlook*

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# The Social Studies

VOLUME XLII, NUMBER 2

FEBRUARY, 1951

## The Meaning of Progress

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Periodically we all pause from our labors and try to evaluate our condition on earth. Our attempts to understand man's relationship to history and to the cosmos are more than an academic exercise designed to satisfy our desire for knowledge: they provide an indispensable foundation for action. The success of any program, individual or social, is likely to be determined by the understanding and the sense of direction by which it is inspired, so that, to decide wisely what to do and how to do it, we must, in Lincoln's words, first know where we are and whither we are tending. No amount of immersion in particular tasks exempts us from the necessity or the urge to achieve a perspective which will give those tasks meaning.

During the last hundred years there have been many analyses of man's position and his possibilities for the future. In the century embraced by the materialism and positivism of Marx and Comte at one extreme and the religious orientation of Toynbee at the other, what has grown in common among thinkers has been a feeling that we are living in a time of crisis. Whether we are on the threshold of world communism, or whether the successive world wars are the last gasps of a dying civilization, or whether we are entering an era of universal democracy, it is agreed that we are witnessing events of great magnitude. There can be no doubt that our chance of emerging genuinely victorious from the crisis depends in large measure on an understanding of history. It must be equally plain that an assessment of our situation demands a re-examination of the intellectual dynamics of our society. The prospects for the future are so bleak that it is well to cast a critical eye upon the assumptions which have shaped our thinking. It is to an examination of one of these assumptions that the following pages will be devoted.

Democratic society, and especially our own, with its prosperous material base, has been inspired by faith in progress. But faiths, irrational and unshakable and impervious to the shock of circumstance as they may sometimes appear, are variable from age to age. Faith in progress has to be understood in a new light in each age. "Progress" does not mean the same in twentieth-century America as it did in eighteenth-century France, the same to Thomas Jefferson as to Franklin Roosevelt, or the same to Condorcet as to Charles Beard. There is, of course, a certain universality about the belief in the improvement of man's condition on earth, and in this sense the idea of progress has occupied an honorable place in the history of human society. For devotion to human betterment has motivated men's actions in the remotest past and in the most scattered parts of the earth. It remained, however, for our own period of history—the period, roughly, from the eighteenth to the twentieth centuries, in Europe and America—to deify progress.

In this period progress became the ideal of thinking men and the inevitable law governing the movement of all nature and human society. Whereas in earlier times the amelioration of society and man was the goal of a small number of farsighted leaders, in the nineteenth century the idea of progress came to assume universal dominion over men's thoughts. The inevitability of progress became the creed of the ignorant as well as of the enlightened, and it was a rare individual who dared to cast doubt on the desirable direction in which history was moving or who believed that any forces could effectively challenge the happy course of events. In the United States, whose history coincides with the florescence of the idea of progress and whose career was often taken as a living proof of its correctness, the idea of progress found its natural home.



It is interesting to trace the steps by which the idea of progress insinuated itself so deeply into the fabric of men's intellectual makeup. The eminent historian J. B. Bury pointed out that the idea of inevitable progress could not gain its hold until certain preliminary assumptions were established in men's minds. It was necessary, first, that men attach independent value to life on earth, for, in a framework of thought where temporal existence is considered a mere stepping-stone to a life hereafter, the driving force for improvement is lacking. There is not sufficient interest in life *per se* to develop any all-embracing theory of progress. It was necessary, in the second place, for the power of reason to be firmly established: men had to have confidence in their own ability to press ever onward and upward. Societies and ages in which man thought of himself as weak and humble have never distinguished themselves by elaborating notions of earthly progress. Closely associated with the exaltation of reason was a belief in freedom from authority, a freedom which could assure reason its proper scope. It was necessary, finally, that there be a widespread belief in the constancy of the laws of nature. For if man's gains could be wiped out by the whims of nature or by the unintelligible will of a superior being, there could be little possibility of building, by cumulative degrees, the solid structure which we characterize as progress.

These are, though oversimplified, the main intellectual foundations of the idea of progress: attachment of independent value to life on earth, enthronement of reason and freedom from authority, and belief in the immutability of the laws of nature. Each of these conditions was long in developing, and even their sum total does not tell the whole story. In the United States especially, even more important than the intellectual groundwork was the existence of a dynamic economic organization in which expansion was equated with survival and stability was inconceivable without growth. A religion of progress made particular sense in a land where men were immersed in a material expansion apparently without limits.

But today the notion of inevitable progress has been virtually abandoned, here as elsewhere. Whether its demise is due more to the shaking

of the intellectual presuppositions or to changes which have robbed our economic system of its expansive quality, history will have to decide. It seems certain only that the old confidence is gone.

It is easy, in retrospect, to justify what now appears to be the false worship of inevitable progress, on the ground that its consequences have been salutary. True, we might say, progress no longer seems to play the leading role in history which we once ascribed to it, but the optimism which it engendered brought us to our unprecedented high levels of achievement in the harnessing of nature and the establishment of a democratic society. Is it not well to have harbored an illusion if the illusion goaded us with unquestioning zeal to the accomplishment of all that we consider worthwhile?

Whatever the merits of this argument as applied to the past, it is not one which can be urged for the present. In the atomic age it is clear that science, hitherto the principal instrument of progress, is not an unmixed blessing; for science, left to its own resources, can as well bring on the ruin as the advance of civilization. Whether, therefore, the worship of false gods in the past may be justified or not, their worship cannot any longer be expected of thoughtful men. From now on belief in inevitable progress seems unlikely to lead, as before, to intelligent solutions of society's problems. It has become necessary, not to discard the notion of progress, but to redefine it, to redirect the universal regard for progress which still lingers, though without its erstwhile cosmic glamor.

Loss of faith in the *inevitability* of progress may still leave us with a firm belief in the *possibility* of progress. A realistic understanding of progress can replace the aimlessness and emptiness by which our age runs the risk of being characterized. A realization that human progress requires planned, conscious effort, that it will not be presented to us as a product of cosmic forces like those which produced the earth or the species man, may yet open new potentialities for the idea of progress and give it new vitality.

## II

The old view of a single "progress" no longer stands the test of rational examination. Convenient as it may be to posit some general move-



ment covering all phases of human activity, it appears more probable that there is no law which forces all of them to proceed in the same direction and at the same pace. Progress, rather than a single movement, or a composite of equal or nearly equal forward movements, or even an average of separate forward movements on various fronts, is perhaps best viewed as a relationship among them. The measure of the strength of our achievements, or "total progress," is not to be derived by making additions or by finding averages but rather by examining the relationship between various "progresses." Thus the value, in terms of human welfare, of two modest gains may well be greater than that of one slight and one huge advance, where the disparity creates serious problems of adjustment. It is the task of "progressive" leadership to see that, when progress in one sphere tends to outstrip the progress in another, serious and organized effort is exerted to close the gap.

The "progresses" with which we should be concerned are in those fields which are central to our civilization—advances in the welfare of the individual and society and in the creative achievements of men. The suggestions of P. W. Slosson, in his essay, "A Yardstick for Civilization," (in *Essays in Intellectual History*, Harper's, New York and London, 1929, pp. 327-359), are to the point. Slosson suggested that health, security, administrative efficiency, civic energy, personal freedom, production and distribution of wealth, invention, education, and the position of women and minority groups may be accepted as among the legitimate standards by which to measure social welfare. And, in the realm of individual effort, accomplishments in scholarship, philosophy, literature, the sciences, and the arts ought to be a fair indication of man's advance.

It is not, however, in the selection of the aspects of our life which should serve as the yardstick of our progress that disagreement is most likely to occur. Nor, for the most part, will there be serious dispute about the factual statements describing our situation in the various departments of civilized life. It is in evaluation and interpretation that controversy arises. Progress somehow denotes a moving forward, and who is to say with final authority which changes carry man forward, which back-

ward, and which are irrelevant? For surely change and progress are not always the same, in spite of their too frequent confusion in the materialistic, mechanically-minded thought of the past two centuries. Modern means of transportation, for example, when presented to peoples who have no need or desire to go anywhere, can hardly be deemed progress by those peoples. Advances in medical science, likewise, would represent little progress to men who have no concern about life on earth. Only those changes may be considered progressive in character which exert a strengthening effect on activities and institutions which a society prizes, changes which bring increases in generally accepted values. What constitutes progress at one time or place will not at another. In a word, progress—whether taken, as of old, to embrace the whole movement of a people or humanity, or to denote the advance in a particular field—is always relative to particular societies.

This relative nature of progress, which was slow in asserting itself among early writers on the subject, discredits the attempts of nineteenth century imperialisms to impose "civilization" on backward peoples. The theorists of imperialism, indeed, looked for absolute standards of civilization and invariably found them at home waiting for export. It was conveniently assumed that there existed an absolute progress, the same for all lands and all ages. And this absolutist conception took so firm a hold on men's minds that even today men who would be unwilling to defend the *doctrine* allow themselves to be lured by it in *practice*. The naive notion, for example, that, with adequate expenditure of money, American democracy may be presented to all and sundry has no other intellectual foundation.

### III

But does the relative nature of progress doom us to uncertainty? Does the fact that progress is not the same for all peoples and all ages mean that we are unable to settle on any course of social action? We cannot escape the responsibility of judging our condition and our direction by resorting to the relativity of progress. For just as surely as the interpretation of progress varies from one culture to another, within a culture we may expect a fairly objective determination. Progress is relative, but objective. This does not imply that progress

needs to be regarded as a single entity. It does mean that, in evaluating the aspects of life which make up the complex of our society, we should be able to find a single criterion. And, since many of our interests and activities have values peculiar to our society, it may well be that our criterion of progress will also be peculiar to our society.

Such a criterion, as sociologists have insisted, must first of all be fairly measurable, so that conclusions reached on the basis of it may be generally accepted. Further, it must be widely shared and appreciated by members of society, not merely by a select few. Finally, the criterion by which we judge our progresses must represent the present values of men within the society, and at the same time not be so inflexible as to commit us to unchanging ultimate goals. It is small wonder, in view of the difficulties which these requirements impose, that many honest men have either ended in utter skepticism, deciding that no adequate measure could be discovered, or have selected cosmic or abstract standards (like Spencer's movement from homogeneity to heterogeneity) not appreciated by the generality of mankind.

The ancient recommendation of happiness as the measure of man's state has proved of little help. The usual definition made happiness an excess of pleasure over pain; but pleasure and pain, being subjective, could hardly be useful in achieving an objective gauge. Yet happiness—if only it could be satisfactorily defined—might provide a suitable criterion for progress. However varied its meanings, happiness has always somehow been the goal of men; and, because of its very multiplicity of applications, happiness as a measure offers the flexibility required in a changing world.

The problem of reducing happiness to a measurable, or at least a reasonably tangible quantity, was undertaken with marked success by the American sociologist Lester Ward at the end of the nineteenth century. Seeking a dynamic view of happiness, Ward suggested that it really consisted of two factors: first, the affording of opportunities for the exercise of existing human faculties; and second, the creation of new faculties and opportunities for their exercise. This interpretation of happiness has, among its merits, that of eliminating the time-worn argument that primitive or unde-

veloped peoples are happier than we because their problems are simpler and their minds less exposed to pain. It emphasizes development rather than placidity. It is, indeed, the point of view which has long guided the leaders of American democracy, though it has never attained wide currency on a theoretical level.

Ward's principle, useful as it may be as a guide to action in a democracy, is beset by serious difficulties, the most important of which may be expressed as follows: Are we concerned with the greatest possible development in a small group of men, or with an inferior development in the greatest possible number? Does the Renaissance, with its Michelangelos and Leonardos, represent a higher stage than our own age, with its mere Steinbecks, Gides, Joyces, and Picassos? Is it the elevation of the peaks or of the whole terrain which determines progress; or is there perhaps no contradiction? Our democratic tradition has committed us to the happiness of humanity; but our observation has taught us that the torch of progress is borne by exceptional men. Whether, within the framework of our devotion to all, democratic society is capable of affording full scope to the essential gifted few, has yet to be decided. We have no choice but to apply the definition of happiness democratically and at the same time to strive, in our education and in our scientific and artistic activity, to stimulate genius to its fullest expression.

A further question suggests itself, if we are to interpret progress as a strengthening of activities and institutions which we prize and as a broad development of human faculties. Suppose that in a particular society men are so misguided as to attach value to institutions, activities, or faculties which are not "actually capable of improving" their condition? Surely it is not all faculties which we want developed, but only the "good" ones. Suppose—to take a case close to home—that men become so enamored of material wealth that they lose sight of intellectual, cultural, or moral values. Are we to say that the expansion of faculties which serve to increase material wealth represents progress? An atheist might ask the same question with regard to the development of religious feeling, or a moralist of the old school with regard to the growth of scientific activity. It would be convenient to create a standard by



which to test the "true" value of faculties or activities which a society deems worthwhile. But, barring the appearance of a superior judgment accepted by all mankind, each society must be left to make its own determination. We are obliged to call progressive the expansion of activities which the society considers valid. It will be wise for us to be clear on this point as we intensify our efforts to help underprivileged peoples in various parts of the world. As to the inevitable unbalance, the temporary exaggeration of one or another phase of life, we may console ourselves that the diversity of unbalances among cultures which affect each other creates continual revisions of values and often causes new emphases to be placed on hitherto neglected activities.

Progress in the various fields of human activity has always been uneven. Indeed it is commonly said that for long periods of time mankind has stood still in certain departments while moving forward in some or backward in others. It even may be, as some contend, that in several important ways man has not progressed at all. The latter charge is usually applied to ethics and often to the arts, where it is not clear that man has advanced since Biblical or Greek times; whereas, in contrast, everyone readily grants that important gains for the realization of man's potentialities have been made in the material realms—science and medicine, transportation, production and utilization of wealth, and even the diffusion of knowledge. To attempt to chart the various progresses is a task beyond the limits of this essay, though such data might be useful in showing us where our efforts in the future should be concentrated.

#### IV

For some time, and most notably since the first world war, the discrepancy between achievements in the material sphere and those in the moral realm has become alarming. Whenever a division is made between the material and the moral departments of our life, the unbalance is most remarkable and most ominous. The danger, which was very clear to Walt Whitman and many writers after him, has in recent years become the concern of all thoughtful men, who see us stubbornly complacent with our material wealth and our political-economic

arrangements, but unconcerned about our spiritual emptiness.

That there should be a lag is not itself remarkable, for it is always easier and faster to apply an invention in a material sense than to reap profit from it on a moral level. What is frightening to many thinkers today is that, as a nation, we seem to have lost the very capacity of making the transfer from one realm to the other. We have erected a barrier between our material and our non-material interests and have come to accept the separation as a kind of application of specialization. The scientists, engineers, and builders of all sorts who are constantly raising the physical standard of living have little interest or time to worry about moral consequences, and in those cases, mostly very recent, where they do surmount the barrier, their influence is undermined by the fact that they are "out of their field." Religious thinkers, on the other hand, find the exaggerated concern with material wealth so repulsive that they are inclined to urge us, in terms as exclusive as the engineers', to fix our attention on spiritual values. Yet it is precisely through an interaction between the moral and the material realms that the United States, or any other country, can achieve effective world leadership. It was the merging of the material and moral which gave the Soviet Union its prestige from the early 1920's through the Second World War, for there was a common feeling abroad that the Russians were developing their material resources for human ends of the broadest character. Of us, on the other hand, it was said, and now surely it is said, that our ingenuity has put into our hands vast material resources, while our failure to evince positive ideals has deprived us of the ability to use them for any purpose beyond the immediate mechanical applications.

Have we, in fact, lost the capacity to translate our material advances into moral gains? If we have, the loss need not be permanent. The qualities of mind most productive of progressive innovations and adjustments are qualities richly present in the American tradition. The question of the lack of moral progress, which has for many centuries intrigued writers on the meaning of progress, may be formulated as follows: Granted that there has been "progress," what or who has progressed—men or



society? Or, in slightly different terms, have the changes which meet our definition—which expand the faculties that we consider worthwhile—been changes in individuals, in society as a whole, or in external circumstances? Moralists have been inclined to the view that man has stood still and that the significant changes have been in circumstances or in society. According to Goethe, man remains the same, but mankind goes ever forward, while according to Aldous Huxley, technological “advance” has merely provided men with more efficient means of going backward. One recent writer has aptly said that to claim a progress in man is to say that modern soldiers are better fighters than Napoleon’s, simply because they have better weapons. Of most lasting appeal, perhaps, has been the ancient summation of Lucretius, who viewed material changes with great enthusiasm but held that man did not get better “in his heart.”

This age-old discussion seems to us now to be predicated on false premises, and, particularly, on an assumption of a “human nature” which can be divorced from the material conditions with which it interacts. To say of man, mankind, and external conditions that one progresses, or even changes, while the others remain static is to view as eternal that which, in historical experience, is characterized by nothing so much as by change. If the criterion of progress is indeed the expansion of our faculties, then technological improvements cannot fail to affect both man and mankind as a whole. This is not to say that changes in technology and those in other spheres will be parallel or will even point in the same direction, but only that there is certain to be influence. The attempt to draw sharp lines or to pretend that “moral progress” is unconnected with “material progress”—a separation implicit in the various calls for a spiritual revival—does not deal with the realities of our situation. It cannot be said, for example, that the reduction of crime—surely a step in moral progress, difficult as that is to define—is not affected by improvements in the physical conditions of life. The contacts between the moral and material are many and obvious, though the relationship between the two differs widely from one culture to another and from one age to another.

There is no denying that we have moral problems and shortcomings, if we mean by moral (or spiritual) the whole class of non-material activities. Surely our appreciation of the arts, and our ability to live together harmoniously as human beings have not expanded in any degree comparable to the expansion of our ability to produce and use material wealth. But this fact does not constitute an excuse for resorting to any mysterious “spiritual evolution.” The way to deal with these shortcomings is material and tangible.

The discrepancies between moral and material progress arise from the nature and implications of technology. Technological progress, unfortunately, does not usually bring about equal, or even similar, results in all fields of activity. For example, technological changes which have led to urban life have made possible the expansion of certain worthwhile human faculties, through the institution of large libraries and schools (which, because of their size, can offer more to the public), and through increased opportunity to hear music, see paintings and plays, etc. But in other respects this urbanization has had an opposite effect: it has, for example, deprived us of much of the richness which comes from being close to the earth. Clearly technology cannot be said to have resulted in equal progress in every realm of human activity. And to those men who look for an over-all progress, and to those who conceive of an automatic transfer from one field to another, this constitutes a condemnation, even a denial, of technological progress.

It must be borne in mind that only some changes which can be classed as progressive are automatic, and those are mainly in the world beyond man’s control, in biological evolution, for instance. The vast majority of changes which we regard as progress are the result of man’s conscious effort. If this be borne in mind, the observations regarding technology merely provide a basis for positive, planned effort. Thus, if technology undermines the appreciation of nature among city-dwellers, an organized campaign, such as is actually well advanced in many quarters, can do much to counteract this expected effect of urbanization.

To turn our attention to a different case, the unemployment resulting from economic de-

pressions has always produced an outcry against "labor-saving devices." To the naive here is an illustration of the *harmful* effect of *progressive* changes, and the contradiction must be resolved by destroying machines or by limiting their introduction or use. If, however, we do not expect the invention of a machine to benefit mankind through the agency of some cosmic law, if we understand that *progresses* are likely to be uneven, this situation merely points up the need for a concentration of effort in a particular direction.

The assumption of automatic progress is a hangover of Darwinism, which, from the standpoint of social progress, was a disaster of major proportions. The *laissez-faire* philosophy, espoused in economics for very tangible and sound reasons before the age of great industry, received from Darwinism a mighty intellectual rationalization at a time when it no longer corresponded to the needs of society. What was true in biology—evolution, or "automatic" change leading from lower forms to human beings—was falsely applied to social affairs, with striking effects on public opinion. The great weight of Darwin's name, as well as the disrepute into which Darwin's narrow-minded opponents gradually fell, somehow lent authority to broad and unfounded applications of the doctrine of automatic progress. It is well today, when the falsity of those applications is visible to all, to see clearly that progress in the human realm has proceeded in a manner distinct from that of biology. Progresses in human affairs have usually represented conscious efforts of men. And the amount of consciousness, or planning, seems ordinarily to have been commensurate with the complexity of the social scene. It is a truism that the individual planning of earlier times is now inevitably replaced by planning on a social scale.

In the famous case of nuclear energy, how often do we hear that the world would be better off had this government not spent two billions of dollars to harness the force of the atom? But not often enough do we hear it proposed that, because of the discrepancy between our

scientific power and our social wisdom, we might try investing two billions of dollars in an effort to plan the beneficent control of the new force, under the direction of the leading social thinkers of our country and the world. Instead of initiating such a program we have, at the moment that this is written, avowedly and officially launched an armaments race which can only widen the gap between our material mastery and our moral bankruptcy. Underlying the decision to develop a hydrogen bomb is the old assumption that material ascendancy somehow guarantees all-round superiority. Missing from our action is any sign that we understand progress as a relationship. No one, probably, would any longer admit to a belief in automatic progress, or in automatic transfer from one field to another. Yet as a nation we find ourselves acting in accordance with such a belief—concentrating attention on a phase of our activity which is already advanced, depending on some natural or cosmic force to translate the material power into moral good, instead of devoting our energies to the social planning which can alone effect the transfer.

But men concerned with the history of ideas have a specific task to perform in the name of progress. It is to single out those intellectual attitudes which hold the greatest promise of leading us in the paths of progress, to a growing realization of the potentialities of men and society. That we have lost the belief in inevitable progress, without as yet replacing it with an understanding of the possibility of progress, is sadly apparent. Whether this emptiness is a result of the passing of the frontier, economic and other, or merely a defensive reaction which we have assumed in contemplating different ideologies, it is a fact that a misguided concern with stability has by now far surpassed our devotion to progress. In the process of shifting our gaze from a moving star to a fixed star, we tend to lose the sense of motion—indeed, even the memory of our past motion. We need to devote ourselves to recalling the intellectual framework of our progress and the ways which have profited us before and which may yet do so in the future.

# Historical Note on the Development of the Social Studies

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In the present conflict of ideas and proposals for reorganizing the social studies, it is interesting to note the transition that has taken place during the past two hundred years. The threads of our social structure have usually provided the unifying bases of the various social studies, but the variation in the social and educational philosophies of the organizers has always been reflected in the pattern of organization proposed.

The success or failure of educational direction may well be the determining factor in the preservation of life as we now know it. So-called scientific development has far out-raced social growth and has left man groping for some means of applying present knowledge and methods toward the end of better, safer living.

The methods of science, however, have not been completely overlooked in this quest for social and educational efficiency. In weaving strands of education and life, those charged with directional responsibilities first chose to weave the many strands into a cord utilizing the interdependence of life and social processes. Later, this type of fabrication was considered inadequate and the cord was formed by dividing the complementary social elements and instead of weaving a compound strand, the threads were arranged in juxtaposition with each bearing its own weight. To many serious students of social and human nature, this unrelated organization has appeared faulty, and present efforts are being exerted in an attempt to re-blend social studies to conform more closely with the complexities of modern living.

The following survey reports some important developmental trends in social studies curriculum building.

*The Early Period.* The importance of social studies has long been recognized in the American school system. Even when the curriculum consisted chiefly of the three "R's," basic read-

ers frequently included biographical sketches, geography and economics materials, and stories of patriotism that today would be classified as social studies, designed to develop social and civic attitudes and understandings. Although geography was introduced into the curriculum as a separate subject in the eighteenth century, many of the early texts, such as Jedidiah Morse's, first published in 1784, included historical materials, often set apart and labeled as such. It was late in the nineteenth century that history appeared as a definitely organized subject in the common school.

It is interesting to note that social studies in the early schools were fused, not as richly as they are today, but in somewhat the same pattern. Beginning with the social experiences of behavior, supplementing them with reading materials in the social studies, and then introducing boys and girls to a course called "geography" with economic, political, historical and civic emphasis, we set a *pattern* quite similar to that of today. William H. McGuffey, writing in the preface to his *New Sixth Eclectic Reader* indicated this early fusion when he said:

In the selection of articles for Reading Exercises, great care has been taken to present variety of style and subject, to attract by interest of matter, to elevate by purity and delicacy of sentiment, and especially to furnish the mind with valuable information, and to influence the heart by sound moral and religious instruction.

To be sure, learning experience differed greatly because of different psychologies, but the patterns were similar to those now proposed by some. However, as social studies became more specialized at the higher levels of learning, the influence was transmitted to the lower schools until, by the early twentieth century, we find separate courses in history, geography, civics, and the constitution in the elementary school;



to which was added in the secondary school sociology, economics, and current events, with history divided into periods or countries (e.g., Medieval history, English history, etc.). Thus we see separate subjects developing from an early fused curriculum.

The psychology of the times greatly speeded this growth of departmentalization of larger, naturally related subject areas. This process was given professional aid and dignity by the actions of several committees formed to study the problem.

*The Influence of Committees.* While the drift toward segmentation of the social studies was underway before 1880, the numerous national committees that began at this time to study their reorganization actually furthered the breakdown of this field of knowledge into minute, unrelated courses that placed emphasis on the preservation of principles and the transmission of facts. A review of the recommendations of these committees reveals this trend.

(1) In 1892-1894, the Committee of Ten of the National Education Association and the American Historical Association (made up of seven professors and three principals) recommended that three periods per week in the elementary school be devoted to geography, astronomy, meteorology, botany, history, commerce, races, religions and government as a general part of the study of the earth and its inhabitants and their number work. However, the committee became more specific in the upper grades, placing the study of American History and civil government in grade VII; Greek and Roman History in grade VIII; and at least three periods per week of French History in grade IX; English History in grade X, American History in grade XI, and civil government in grade XII.

(2) In 1895, the Committee of Fifteen of the National Education Association made the following recommendations for the elementary grades: Grade I, the area of semi-private adventure in which American History begins; II, colonization; III, the epoch of growing interrelations of the colonies with tendencies toward union; IV, the Revolution; V, the formation of the Constitution; VI, the development of the new nation; VII, the War of 1812; VIII,

the War of the Rebellion. In addition to this intensive study, the committee recommended sixty minutes of general history every week.

(3) In 1896-1899, the Committee of Seven of the American Historical Association (six professors and one principal) made these recommendations for grades seven to twelve; VII, English History; VIII, American History; IX, Ancient History; X, Medieval and Modern History; XI, English History; XII, American History and Civil Government. As an alternate plan, it suggested that grade VII also be devoted to American History; grade X to English History; and grade XI to Institutional History.

(4) In 1905-1909, the Committee of Eight of the American Historical Association (four professors, two superintendents, and two teachers) planned as follows for the first eight grades: I-II, Indian Life and special reference to holidays and famous men's birthdays; III, Heroes of other times—Columbus, Indians, Independence; IV, American Explorers and Colonial life; V, the Revolutionary Era and the Civil War; VI, Where Americans Came From; VII, Exploration and Settlement of North America to about 1775; VIII, the organization of the United States down to about 1800. Here we see one of the first instances where repetition of subject matter is recommended in higher grades.

(5) In 1907-1912, the Committee of Five of the American Historical Association (four professors and one principal) confined its deliberations to the high school, where it placed the study of Ancient History in grade IX; English History in grade X; Modern Europe in grade XI; and American History and government in grade XII.

(6) In 1914-1916, the Social Studies Committee of the National Education Association (five professors, two superintendents, ten teachers, and four unclassified) recommended that general civic studies such as community welfare, social agencies, and civic obligations be incorporated in the regular school program through the first six grades. The remainder of their study dealt with grades seven, eight and nine for which geography one half year, and European History one half year; American History one half year and civics one half year; civics and economic history, are specifically recommended.

(7) In 1911-1916, the Committee of Seven of the American Political Science Association (six professors and one superintendent) made recommendations for the twelve grades as follows: I, home, family, occupations; II and III, trades, industry, school community; IV, city organization; V, ventilation and sanitation; VI, civic improvement and beauty; VII and VIII, political organization of the city with beginnings of state and national governments; for grades IX to XII, at least one half year of civics, to be followed by a comprehensive study of state and federal governments using exhaustive bibliographies. These recommendations followed the Utah Plan and were suggested courses of action without specific directions for implementation.

(8) In 1918-1921, the Committee on History and Education for Citizenship of the American Historical Association and the National Education Association (six professors of history, one professor of education, one superintendent, and one teacher) outlined a plan of study for grades I to III, containing stories and mythology grouped around holidays, festivals, etc., stressing such civic virtues as obedience, courtesy, helpfulness, punctuality, fair play, etc. In grades IV and V, biographical stories from American History and community cooperation in living were to be stressed. Grade VI was to continue historical biography, including some from Europe. Grades VII and VIII were to divide world history at 1607. Such civics as community organization and local, state, and federal governments would be included. Grade IX was to use current events to retain the history thus far learned, but the emphasis at this grade was on civics and would include industrial organization, the development and appreciation of the social significance of all work, the social value and interdependence of all occupations, and how the young citizen may prepare himself for a definite occupation. The modern world and world history since the middle of the seventeenth century was to be studied in grade X with emphasis on social, political, and economic development, showing progress toward world democracy. Special attention was to be given to institutions founded during the seventeenth century. Grade XI was to be devoted to the United States in the modern world, comparing its institutions with those of

other countries. Grade XII was to consider modern world problems and problems of democracy, leading into the elements of sociology, economics, political science and practical government. The inductive method was recommended.

(9) In 1923 the Twenty-Second Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education was published, containing suggestions for organization from the seventh grade through the ninth grade. It recommended the works of Harold and Earle Rugg and Emma Scheweppe as an ideal program. More specifically it suggested *America and Her Immigrants*, and the *City and Key Industries in Modern Nations* for grade VII; the *Westward Movement and Growth of Transportation*, plus the *Mechanical Conquest of America* were reserved for grade VIII, while *Problems of Immigration*, and *Development of Resources and Industries in a Machine Age* were allocated to grade IX. No recommendations were made for the high school.

(10) In 1920-1923, cooperative research directed by Harold Rugg resulted in a series of two texts each for grades III to IX, that fused all social studies materials into a sequentially planned course. Rugg divided the field among the grades as follows: III, *The First Book of The Earth*, and *Nature Peoples*; IV, *Communities of Men*, and *Peoples and Countries*; V, *The Building of America*, and *Man at Work: His Industries*; VI, *Man at Work: His Arts and Crafts*, and *Mankind throughout the Ages*; VII, *Our Country and Our People*, and *Changing Countries and Changing People*; VIII, *The Conquest of America*, and *America's March Towards Democracy*; and IX, *Citizenship and Civic Affairs*, and *Man and His Changing Society*.

(11) In 1948 the Stanford Social Education Investigation reported its study and encouraged fusion of the social studies and language arts.

(12) Since 1940 the Educational Policies Commission of the National Education Association has stressed education for living in a democratic world in its many publications. They recommend general fusion of all areas of learning to produce learning situations adjusted to the community, the region, the state, and eventually the free man in a free world.

*Current Trends.* More than twenty-five states have engaged in extensive curriculum study and reorganization since 1937. Research of the past two decades points to over 450 curriculum research studies and articles in an effort to establish more nearly perfect goals, methods, materials and curricular patterns for the social studies.

Current research is concerned more with measurement of tangible results, certain aspects of social learning and the development of concepts, increased use of better equipment including visual aids, and the development of courses of study. These reflect the efforts of classroom teachers, supervisors, administrators, subject specialists and professional educators at the college level to pick up the threads of complex living and weave them once again into a strand that will provide education for the whole child in a world whose problems are not unrelated areas of specialized living or learning. These problems are not a series of unrelated parallel situations, but rather fused situations, completely interdependent. An analysis of these studies reveals certain trends, the more apparent of which are listed below:

(1) There is a definite trend at all grade levels towards the complete fusion of the several social studies.

(2) There is a growing tendency to fuse the social studies and other areas of learning—language arts, fine arts and music, science, and

mathematics, in this order—at the elementary level and to less degree at the junior high school level. There is some experimentation of this at the senior high school level.

(3) There has been for some time a trend towards the development of 8, 9, or 12 year sequential programs in the social studies. This has led to experimentation with two-year sequence courses at the senior high school level.

(4) There is a trend towards a greater use of community resources and the development of community understandings, leading in some instances to direct participation in community affairs.

(5) There is a trend towards making the social studies classroom a laboratory for practicing democracy. This has led to more pupil participation in planning the classroom work, their activities, choice and preparation of materials, etc.

(6) There is a tendency towards stating the objectives of the social studies in democratic terms and a recognition of the fact that individuals live and work in a social milieu.

In conclusion it might be noted that we are gradually completing the cycle from functional social studies in the beginning, through highly compartmentalized academic courses, back to an approach to functionalism. The college-dominated committees have given way to co-operative research and investigation that places the child first, subject matter second.

## Loyalty and Patriotism as Social Necessity

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Questions of patriotism and loyalty eventually arise in any consideration of the relationships of the individual to the group—or to the state. Several factors affect the degree of loyalty or group solidarity manifested, as well as the ways in which loyalty is shown. Among these factors are the cultural history of the people making up the group and the social psychology of group organization—of being bound together by common interests or by a feeling of belonging together. However, as a society be-

comes more complex, the increase in number and implications of the relationships among domestic and international groups complicates the process of understanding the nature of loyalty and patriotism or the ways in which these traits are important for the particular society concerned.

1. *Loyalty and patriotism in early America.*—Early settlers along our Atlantic Seaboard came from a European environment which they thought greatly emphasized duty and service



that the individual owed the king. Probably in most instances the individual subject was not greatly impressed with the rights and privileges that he experienced under the organized state which prevailed. Even the most autocratic state, however, renders some useful service to the majority of its subjects through maintaining internal regulations and through affording protection from armies or raiding bands that might come from other states. But in many respects protections against dangers from without seem more remote and less important than immediate demands by a ruler through taxes or personal services. Moreover, the individual seems so constituted by nature that it is easier for him to accept benefits from others than to render service to others—at least until he has learned that privileges and duties or rights and responsibilities go hand in hand.

Under the circumstances described it seems understandable that when the colonies broke away from the English political system of the late eighteenth century, they would emphasize the rights and privileges of the citizen rather than his duties and responsibilities. Some of the consequences of this lopsided conception of individual-group relationships were reflected in difficulties which the new American state experienced in such matters as national defense, tax collection, and the regulation of commerce. Some of the same problems arise now concerning taxes, rights of individual states versus the federal government, and the development of a world state.

One thought running through the foregoing paragraphs is that it is more difficult for an individual to feel himself a member of a large and heterogeneous group than to feel himself a member of a small and homogeneous group. In the small group the individual can personally know a substantial proportion of the people, but the larger, the more heterogeneous, and the more geographically scattered the group is, the more difficult it is for the individual to comprehend what the group means and really to *feel* himself a part of it. Large-group consciousness and large-group loyalty or patriotism are therefore traits which are developed only with considerable effort—effort by the organized group, and by the individual.

## 2. *Loyalty as related to understanding and*

*accepting group aims.*—Loyalty should be differentiated from some other types of relationship between an individual and a group. Loyalty and patriotic action should be thought of as depending on an *understanding* of the objectives which the organized state attempts to achieve and on a *voluntary acceptance* of those objectives as being for one's own personal welfare. The blind following of a leader is more of a mob phenomenon or an emotional attachment to a captivating personality, than a manifestation of loyalty or patriotism. However, loyalty is not free from emotion. But the emotion should be an energizing factor which reinforces action after the individual has thought through the issues involved and has accepted the conclusions of the group as being conclusions for which he should work. Any group to which loyalty in this sense could be attached would have to be a rather stable group which could become identified as the exponent of important issues or ideologies—it could not resemble a transient mob.

In a group that is as large and heterogeneous as any important modern state, there are many issues on which the state as a group must take a stand. It is therefore hardly to be supposed that a voting majority which approved the action taken by the state on one issue would consist of the same persons as make up a voting majority on some other issue—i.e., the persons constituting a majority who favor a national housing or slum clearance program would hardly be the same persons as those who constitute a majority in favor of rural electrification. The same applies to most issues in foreign policy.

One result of the multiplicity of issues with which the modern state must deal is that there is considerable variation in the extent to which different persons are loyal to the state as well as variation from time to time in the loyalty of any one individual. However no reasonable person should expect every action which is taken by the state to be favorable to his own personal interests. Some actions will certainly relate to issues concerning which he has no personal interest, and in some cases his personal interests may not be in harmony with the general welfare which is presumably served by the action taken by the state. Hence in practice the loyalty of the individual operates on the

basis of a kind of probability or batting average. One is loyal to the existing state so long as he thinks it will offer him more in physical protection, vocational opportunity, cultural participation, and other experiences which he considers worth while than any other form of state would offer. Nevertheless, an individual may, because of established habit or law-enforcement machinery, continue to lend financial and perhaps some other types of support to an existing state after his loyalty in the foregoing sense has disappeared.

Lending one's loyal support to a state which sponsors issues that he has come to understand and accept adds weight to the state and strengthens it in its efforts to win further support. Hence the loyal citizen not only supports the state with his own material resources, but he indirectly renders a psychological service in impressing others through his example and through the growth which his contribution makes to the state's resources.

It should be obvious that coming to understand group aims, and recognizing when issues sponsored by the existing state are in line with one's personal interests, is not a passive experience. The understanding and recognition involved demand persistent effort on the part of the individual—and they are essential for his welfare.

It follows that in practical politics the leaders of a state can seldom, if ever, count on the loyal and patriotic support of *all* its members. This is because the state (especially the democratic state but also to some extent the autocratic state) is a compromise among conflicting interest groups. Since it is easier to get divergent groups to agree on a few issues than to get them to agree on many issues, it is probable that a state will have the patriotic support of a larger proportion of its members if it confines its activities to areas of human relationships in which there is already considerable agreement. At a time when a menace to continued national existence seems imminent, and when most persons think that under their existing government they have more of what they want than they would likely have as a conquered people within the social group that constitutes the menace, a high percentage of the group will patriotically support their government against external encroachment. Whether this support

will consist of military resistance to attack, some type of concession, sabotage of an occupying enemy, or some other form will depend on the promise of success which different avenues offer. Thus the small population of Denmark, however patriotic, could not have effectively resisted the military strength of Nazi Germany when the latter was at its height, but had to use other means until circumstances became more favorable.

### 3. *Loyalty, patriotism, and military service.*

—When reference is made to patriotism and national loyalty, many persons think almost entirely in terms of military service rendered in time of war. Service for the group or nation which is rendered at great sacrifice to the individual during a time of national peril is an important service by the individual to the group. The fact that the state compels or drafts certain of its members to render this service, giving up home comforts and undergoing hazards of injury or death while in service, seems to be an important consideration in explaining why many people place a higher value on military service than on most other services which the individual renders to the group. There are several standpoints from which one might examine the evaluation involved.

Some people voluntarily make a profession of military service, as others follow such professions as medicine, engineering, social work, or teaching. Persons in any vocation are most highly paid and respected when there is a great demand for their specialized type of service. The greatest demand for military service comes during times of war or fear of war—when it is thought that disputes among nations or similar groups must be settled by force. Hence a national emergency which is accompanied by war or by war scares is in a sense a boom time for professional military persons—especially those in some of the higher officer ranks. This means that the risk of injury or death which the professional soldier faces in time of war is a vocational hazard—a part of his chosen vocation, just as the risk of disease may be a vocational hazard for doctors or nurses, or that certain other vocational hazards may confront the fireman, policeman, construction worker, or farmer.

On two counts then the professional soldier is in a different situation from that of the indi-



vidual who is drafted from civilian life for wartime military service. The professional soldier voluntarily chose military service as a lifetime vocation, whereas the other person was rather directly forced into that service; and in general the professional soldier has long been trained and habituated to the service, whereas the drafted person has been pulled out of some civilian mode of life. The point here is that the attitudes and circumstances associated with specific acts carried out or difficulties suffered are important in the social evaluation that should be made of the type of sacrifices which are most likely to be made by persons in military service. The risk of being killed in connection with the work of his profession is one of the vocational hazards of the professional soldier. Being killed on the job is not ordinarily considered a vocational risk of a social worker, teacher, or banker.

The foregoing observations are significant for American youth. One might expect a large part of the military profession to have a vested interest in being enthusiastic and romantic about war service and the vocational boom which it promises them, but would expect to find no similar basis for enthusiasm on the part of persons who are drafted from civilian vocations into wartime military service.

4. *Loyalty, patriotism, and non-military services.*—With the importance attached to work in "essential industry" and in "essential government positions" which accompanied World War II, the idea of loyalty to the nation and the idea of patriotic service have not been thought of so much in terms of military service alone as was formerly the case. Working in peacetime to improve the economic and social strength and the cultural richness of the state may ordinarily not be as dramatic as rendering some type of emergency wartime service, but it may be as important for the long-range welfare of the people. However, the fact that emergency measures are often dramatic and always attract attention does not mean that such measures are always wise or that the emergency might not have been forestalled by intelligent planning at an earlier date. A question that could be raised is whether it would have been more patriotic or less patriotic for an individual to have stood out at the earlier date and insisted on using existing information

to plan the future course of the group, than to make an equal or greater personal sacrifice to remedy a threatening situation which later developed and which nearly everybody finally recognized as an emergency.

An important point here concerns *knowing how to be loyal or patriotic*—of having insight to see what kinds of behavior constitute loyalty or patriotism under different circumstances and of having the courage to do what is needed in various types of situations. It would seem a higher form of loyalty and of patriotic service to a nation for an individual to devote his life to helping it avoid domestic or international catastrophe than for him to devote his life to helping drag the nation out of a mess and reorient it along lines which through using insight it might have followed before it got into the difficulty. The idea of service to prevent a national crisis versus service during a crisis is essentially the same as the idea of preventive versus curative medicine, crime prevention versus the conviction and punishment of criminals, or economic planning to prevent depressions versus emergency measures to prevent starvation and reduce unemployment after depression is upon us.

In any difficult situation, whether a decisive moment in battle or a persistent struggle with a problem of civic reform or scientific research, there is always a difference between good judgment and foolhardiness. One could be foolhardy in risking his life in war the same as in risking it in industry, scientific experimentation, or in other situations. It would be a higher level of patriotic virtue for a man to preserve his life and health so that he could use a unique skill or an extensive accumulation of knowledge in promoting civic reform which is important for the welfare of the people generally, or in carrying on intricate research and experimentation, than to lose his life through some foolhardy gesture on a battlefield. In some instances persons who volunteer to act as subjects or "guinea pigs" for medical research on new drugs or surgical techniques knowingly undergo considerable risk to life and health, and render a patriotic service to their nation—and to mankind as a whole. American civilization would be strengthened if the people of the country generally could more clearly recognize any type of important service and sacrifice by



the individual for the group as being patriotic sacrifice for the common welfare, rather than to act as if patriotic service could be rendered only in some military capacity. If more patriotic service was rendered in planning and preventing crises, less effort would be needed to overcome crises which develop. There are several difficult problems in the foregoing situation which will have to be solved through some form of popular education.

With more specific reference to civic responsibility, it is not enough for the loyal and patriotic layman to understand what type of political organization is best constituted to serve his interests, and to vote on specific issues in accordance with his personal interests and welfare. In several respects his service should be more active and more extensive. This service might include holding public office, acting in an advisory capacity to governmental or philanthropic agencies, or perhaps accepting employment in public service—although at less pay than for work of comparable difficulty or responsibility in private employment. Anyone who shirks the civic or patriotic responsibility of helping to “improve” the state in regard to its concern for his own long-range interests is likely to find that the state is gradually slipping away from any support of those interests. If popular indifference to improvement of the state becomes general and persistent, there are not enough loyal supporters to defend the state against a foreign or domestic adversary that might arise. The interests of most of the people are then adrift. Something approaching this situation seems to have existed in Nationalist China during most of 1949.

Loyalty to a state and patriotic service in its behalf, as considered in this discussion, assume that the individual has through his own thinking arrived at some conclusion regarding what things in life are most important—for him. This assumption is no more important with respect to the relatively undramatic peacetime manifestations of patriotism than with respect to the more dramatic wartime manifestations, but for some people it may be more apparent in situations of the former type when the emergency character of activities is less pronounced. A related assumption is that the individual

will be willing to sacrifice more for the things which he regards important than for other things.

In brief, the assumption is that the individual has a philosophy of life or a system of social values, and that he would sacrifice *everything else* rather than give up these values. *Everything else* includes life itself. That is, he would rather lose his life in striving to attain or defend these values, than to live the remainder of it in a society in which he felt sure that he could not experience them in any substantial or increasing degree. Under these conditions one feels compelled to defend his interests and ideals with whatever resources he can muster—to defend them becomes the central meaning of his right to live. When these ideals are held in common by a substantial body of persons they become group ideals, and action through or in behalf of the organized group or the state in defending or advancing these ideals is patriotic action. In this sense patriotism, as a cooperative defense or promotion of ideals and interests held in common by members of the group, is a social necessity. It is a necessity for the individual in the sense that it constitutes the avenue through which he engages in the activities which are most significant for him and for the group, and which therefore offers his richest field for personality development. It is a necessity for the group because it is only through the loyal support of members that a group as an organized body can endure.

From the standpoint of practical politics many people will support the leaders of a state in dealing with other organized states—will support the foreign policy but will not support these leaders on domestic policy. The situation in the United States during 1949 illustrates this point. There was extensive agreement on policy concerning Russia and most of Western Europe, but much less agreement on domestic issues concerning civil rights, public housing, compulsory health insurance, subsidized agricultural production, federal aid for general public education, and many other domestic issues. In terms of a philosophy of life this situation means that domestic issues were not considered as important as international issues. When important international issues arose, people were willing to forget or endure their domestic differences—endure them rather than

contemplate enduring what they imagined would be in prospect if conflict over domestic issues should cause the nation to lose in a struggle with the international adversary. It was only after major international problems *appeared to lose* their acuteness that attention was devoted to problems of the next order of magnitude—controversial domestic issues.

5. *Magnitude of state enterprise in relation to patriotism.*—In a populous modern state the scope of numerous enterprises that the state carries on is so comprehensive that the individual tends to become a cog in a big machine. As a small item in a mammoth organization he may be carried along in the sweep of the organization with no very obvious individual evaluation or decision of the type which has been characterized in this discussion as constituting the basis of loyalty or patriotism.

The wartime army is an illustration in point. During the time when an individual who has been inducted as a private into one of the fighting branches of the army passes through different levels of training, many types of behavior which are useful to him under combat conditions become increasingly automatic. Before he has finished his training he has been thoroughly conditioned to the importance of "getting the enemy before he gets you," and has mastered several techniques and the use of equipment to help him in the process. If he reflects on the situation he realizes that his prospects of surviving contact with the enemy are greatest if he practices what he has been taught. Hence by the time that he faces actual combat, he is in a situation in which his prospects of physical survival are greatest if he follows the orders given him and makes most effective possible use of his skills and equipment in doing so. If he has not mastered the skills which his training was supposed to establish, the likelihood that he and others in his unit will be killed by the enemy is increased. If he refuses to obey orders he may be disposed of as a traitor. The fact that medical aid and rehabilitation service will be available in case of injury, and that financial provision will be made for his family in case he is killed, help reduce anxiety about such matters as his future earning power and enable him to concentrate his thought and energy more completely on war

activities. As a functioning part of this big machine he must lose much of his individuality—much of his civilian responsibility of providing for his own economic support, participating in civic as well as vocational activities, and making his own decisions.

At this point in the life of a soldier, a large part of his activity may be carried on without his individual understanding or acceptance of what he is expected to do. These specific activities could not be considered patriotic in the sense in which that term has been used in this discussion. However, patriotism in the sense described may have been involved when he decided to volunteer for military service, if he did so, realizing the types of activity in which this service would make it necessary for him to engage. Moreover a good many situations arise during combat which are not provided for in training and in which the individual soldier must make a decision. In many such instances men have rendered service quite "beyond the call of duty" and have been honored for their patriotism in doing so. A similar situation exists where men in the service volunteer for a particularly difficult task. Regardless of situations of this kind, however, the fact remains that in much of the dangerous activity undertaken by military personnel, through an agency which has the high degree of organization as well as the basis of support that is typical of a modern army, personal loyalty to the state or patriotism in serving it may be unimportant.

In the United States there is no civilian agency that has the numerical scope or the high degree of organization which appears in the army, and none in which it is considered that members of the organization run considerable risk of being killed or maimed while rendering the service which the vocation expects. Hence there is less likelihood that persons working in civilian agencies will be swept along by the magnitude of an organization into rendering service in situations in which the acts of the individual will be considered patriotic. However the service that is rendered by public health or Red Cross personnel in flood, earthquake, or other disaster situations might be so considered. Possibly rank and file members of some large and highly organized vocational, economic, or religious group, in such fields as labor, the professions, banking and

finance, agriculture, political parties, or religious sectarianism, might become mere cogs in a big machine—and as parts of the machine be swept into situations in which they would render a service of outstanding importance either to the organization or to the nation. For example, a relatively unknown person may become a candidate for office on the ticket of a major political party, and be swept into office as the political machine rolls along without any important decisions or efforts of his own. By virtue of his office such a person might later order that certain activities be carried out—some of which eventually prove to be of considerable importance. However none of the groups mentioned illustratively in this paragraph have the scope within a particular country or the high degree of organization, both enforced by law, that characterize a modern war-time army. Because of this fact and because of the nature of the sacrifice made by the individual who renders the important service concerned, members of such groups are not in the same position as that of the soldier—so far as relates to large-scale organization sweeping one into patriotic achievement.

6. *Patriotic citizens abide by group decisions and help improve social regulations.*—Loyal members of any group abide by the decisions of the group. If members did not do so there would be chaos rather than group organization. The essential point for a democratic society is that each adult shall have an opportunity to be heard—to set forth his views concerning any issue that might arise, but that all members shall then abide by the will or vote of the majority.

Since social conditions change, and the ideas of the majority also change in regard to what they consider to be for their welfare, it is essential that provision be made for changing formal regulations. If the legal system provides an adequate method for changing laws and regulations, change is likely to be more gradual and regularized than if no such provision is made. However the fact that a legal system has not included adequate provision for changing that system does not mean that no change will occur. It rather means that need for change is likely to accumulate, as water behind a log jam, until there is violent change through revolution. A democratic society provides for the individual to participate in setting up and in changing

the system of social regulations which govern him and all other members of the group, but after decision has been reached the loyal and patriotic citizen follows the laws or rules set up and helps support law-enforcement machinery to force others to do the same.

In addition to abiding by existing laws, patriotic citizens have a responsibility to participate in improving those laws. One avenue of such participation is in voting on issues that arise. Another avenue is that of studying issues, in line with one's vocation and otherwise, so as to have an intelligent opinion and to be able to present important information to others. Such presentation might be in the form of debate, lecture, private discussion, or writing in newspapers and periodicals. With this responsibility to become informed and to help inform others goes the need for being able to analyze and evaluate the information and propaganda of others.

In law enforcement, as in other fields involving patriotism or loyalty to an existing regime, patriotism and loyalty exist in varying degrees. In any army, political party, or other large organization there are always members who are not particularly in accord with the objectives which the organization fosters, but who think it does less violence to their own ideals and goals to join the group—at least for the time being—than to follow some other course. Moreover the power of the state or other social group to *force* individuals to do certain things and to refrain from other things is usually made effective through some indirect approach. For example, the state cannot force a man to pay taxes but it can take his home away from him if he does not do so, and in some societies men have been put in prison and tortured for not paying. Likewise the state cannot force a man into military service and make him fight, but it can put him in jail, torment his family, or even execute him if he will not enter the service. Although under such conditions it could be maintained that the individual may judge and choose, the range of choice is not great—i.e., choice between paying taxes and losing one's home, between rendering military service and some such alternative as those suggested.

The state, army, political party, or other group which includes a large proportion of members with a low level of loyalty is always



in a precarious situation when it faces a struggle. This is particularly true if the large group concerned is democratic in the sense of allowing or encouraging minor groups through which persons who are members of both the large group and the one or more smaller groups can gain satisfactions which the large group could not directly make available. In a society in which there is considerable freedom for groups of varying sizes and objectives to arise, there is usually considerable freedom for the individual to shift his loyalty from one group to another. This means that if the state is to survive, as it is organized and directed at a particular time, it must continuously reflect the interests and welfare of all its members more effectively than any other social grouping could. The citizen who works untiringly for the continuous improvement of the state, so that there is continuous betterment concerning the extent and methods through which the state furthers the interests and welfare of *all* its members, is a citizen who shows a high level of patriotism and loyalty.

7. *Heroes as personifications of social and patriotic ideals.*—Closely related to the concepts of loyalty and patriotism is the concept of heroism. In most countries there are national or international heroes who embody certain ideals which constitute part of the traditions and goals of the national or cultural group concerned. Since human beings who become heroes do embody some of the ideals which are sensed in the country that recognizes them as heroes, the concrete meaning of the ideal can often be illustrated by citing the deeds of the hero. When an individual has been given the status of a hero, and becomes public property in the sense of being a concrete exemplification of an ideal which the people hold in common, there is a tendency for the people to exaggerate his virtues and minimize his shortcomings and thus to make him appear as outstanding and high an ideal as possible. This process is a factor in the designation of saints by some religious groups.

Various psychological phenomena may be involved here. The tendency may result in part from a kind of intellectual laziness of people generally. If we can make a small number of heroes personify a wide range of idealistic behavior, we do not need to keep in mind a great

number of different heroes or try to envision the concrete implications of ideals for which our civilization has not produced any specific hero to act as a satisfactory embodiment. Moreover, it sometimes appears that heroes acquire additional virtues with the passing of time, much as the "good old days" sound better as reported in retrospect than they ever were in reality, or as the size of the catch reported in fish stories increases as sportsmen congregate and relate their experiences.

As personifiers of ideals, heroes undoubtedly render a service to generations that succeed them through providing illustrations, somewhat exaggerated, of what certain ideals have meant in the past. Without such illustration, ideals tend to be abstract and vaguely understood. However, one should recognize both the limitations and the values of heroes as guides for the future. If the heroism or idealism is exaggerated to the point where a student of history or biography finds little similarity between the hero ideal and the historic personage, the hero ideal may not constructively influence youth. Moreover if the hero is made to appear so idealistic and virtuous as to seem beyond ordinary human aspiration, his reputed deeds will probably be ineffective as influences because youth feel that the ideals reflected in the deeds are unattainable by them. The level of behavior of a youth will be raised most by ideals which seem within reach.

Another limitation of heroes as guides, in developing ideals in young people, inheres in social change. The idealism of the heroes is reflected through events which occurred in the past—recent or remote. As times change, the circumstances which made those events possible no longer exist. Hence considerable explaining and illustrating may be necessary to enable a young person to understand the present-day significance of the ideal which was reflected through the earlier event. The point can be illustrated by reference to the report of Sir Walter Raleigh's having spread his coat over a mud puddle for the queen to step on—instead of letting her step in the mud. As an event which reflects an ideal of courtesy, chivalry, or deference to constituted authority such an event has little potency for present-day American youth who will never be in a situation comparable to that of Raleigh. Moreover in

America sensitiveness to acts of idealism is highest when those acts spring from the lives of the common people. The historic value of a "log cabin" background for an aspirant to the presidency illustrates the idea.

Perhaps a further limitation of heroes as guides for developing ideals in present-day youth is that heroes have been thought of too largely in military terms. As a civilization develops, with an increase in knowledge and skills and with a multiplication of the fields in which additional knowledge and skills are needed, there are a great many avenues through which an individual can render a high level of service to the group and can show a high level

of idealism. In this respect, however, the situation regarding heroes and heroism is similar to that regarding patriots and patriotism—over-emphasis on military service,—and will not be further developed here. Nevertheless one note should be emphasized. In an expanding culture the future will differ from the past more than in a static culture. It is therefore important that young men and women develop ideals which look toward growth and change, and that they analyze the past and use what they can out of it to help them develop such ideals, rather than that they be subjected to any slavish emphasis on past events from the lives of particular heroes that reflected the ideals cherished.

## The American Revolution in Perspective

FREDERICK MAYER

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The American Revolution was a rebellion on the part of a middle class which demanded full recognition and demonstrated by its success that it was ready to assume complete governmental power. It was not as bloody and violent a struggle as the French Revolution nor did it involve the common people in the same way that the Russian Revolution of 1917 affected the masses. Actually, it was a revolution by the minority; only one-third of the male population were in favor of it; the rest were either indifferent, pro-English or lukewarm in their sympathy for the revolutionary cause.

This indifference can be best explained by the geographic distances of the United States; the inadequate transportation system made both physical and mental communication extremely difficult. The population at this time was composed of many nationalities, hence a variety of interests existed and a common revolutionary ideal was almost impossible to achieve. In more recent times, revolutions have become more explosive because they have affected a larger number of people and because the new technical weapons have made violence more scientific and more extensive.

The cause of England was pursued very zealously by the Tories, who usually were determined enemies of the Americans, but among the Whigs there were eager defenders who saw in the Colonial ideals a justification of their own rebellion against arbitrary government in England. Many of the generals, like Howe, were openly in favor of the Colonial cause; others, like Gay, had little heart for the fighting; and some, like Cornwallis, were as poor strategists as General Gamelin in 1940. The English soldiers were of poor quality and they deserted in large numbers.

To succeed, the American revolution needed trained leaders as well as discipline. Both factors were often non-existent. The second Continental Congress was a glorified debating society. The Army often acted like a mob; it was badly fed and sometimes indifferent to fighting. The states did not tolerate any real Federal control and were unwilling to resort to conscription. Hence, the struggle was won partly because the opponent was so split and because the English leaders had no real desire to continue the struggle.

The revolution developed a radical philosophy of government, but after it succeeded a counter-

revolution took place which reached a climax in the reign of the Federalists. It is not surprising to note that the Federalists were strongly conservative and rigidly opposed to French ideals. If they had won a permanent political victory, the United States would never have achieved as much independence from English political theory as it did.

This counteraction against Liberalism invariably occurs in the course of a revolutionary movement. France thus was exposed to the dictatorship of Napoleon and later to the conservatism of Louis Philippe, and Russia had to make concessions to the old system during the period of the New Economic Policy.

#### THE CAUSES OF THE REVOLUTION

England, during the reign of James I and Charles II, was determined to maintain strict control of the colonies. In the years of the Civil War, she was too occupied at home to pay much attention to colonial development. Moreover, she needed the aid of the American Colonies in fighting France. Beginning with Charles II, navigation and trade acts were passed which curtailed colonial trade and which made it obligatory that all ships and three-fourths of the crew must be English. It signaled the triumph of an oppressive English policy.

This policy implied that the mother country had the right to control the colonies, that the mother country should derive great economic benefits in colonial trade, and that she would defend the colonies by maintaining a large army and a large navy. Ultimately, it meant that the Colonies had to pay for the large army.

The colonial merchants, especially, resented the English control, since it limited their manufacturing activity, decreased their profits, brought about unjust taxation, and prevented the full development of American industry. Together with these economic abuses, the English policy led to serious infringement of colonial liberties. The Townshend Acts, for example, allowed customs officials to search any colonial home for smuggled goods.

From 1770 until 1773, there was a period of relative tranquility. Lord North repealed the Townshend Acts except for a small duty on tea. It seemed that the Colonies would not rebel against the mother country. But it was only

a short calm before the violent outbreak.

The revolution was aided immensely by the "Intolerable Acts" of 1774, which extended the Quebec boundary to the Ohio river and gave legal sanction to the Catholic religion in Quebec. This legislation alienated the staunch Protestants and was opposed by all those who believed in the westward expansion. Moreover, these acts kindled the flame of revolution by violating fundamental liberties, including forbidding town meetings except through express permission of the governor, and permitting trial in England of Americans who had advocated treason against the King.

The Intolerable Acts had been the outgrowth of the Boston Tea Party. The damage had not been great—only ninety thousand dollars worth of tea had been destroyed, but the punishment was harsh and the harbor in Boston was to be closed until all the tea had been paid for. The extreme measures of the English government gave excellent ammunition to the arguments of the American radicals.

A revolution, if it wants to capture the imagination of the common people, must have an adequate slogan. The Americans found it in "No taxation without representation." Patrick Henry made an historic speech which was climaxed by the phrase, "Give me liberty or give me death." These slogans were the psychological foundations of the revolutionary struggle. Undoubtedly the main causes were economic and involved the self interest of the colonial merchants, but the justification for the struggle was derived from England's violation of fundamental liberties.

A variety of causes and ideals motivated the Revolution. The merchants were struggling for an expanded capitalistic system in the United States and were intent upon promoting free enterprise for themselves. The farmers on the western frontier were struggling to get rid of the hated central authority which was symbolized by English control and English taxes. Their ideal of government was one which governs least. The Scotch-Irish and the Germans had personal prejudices against England, while the rich plantation owners of the South resented England because they were perpetually in debt to the London merchants. A revolution thus would relieve them from this eco-

(Continued on page 75)



## T 13. Achieving Federal Government

### STUDY OUTLINE

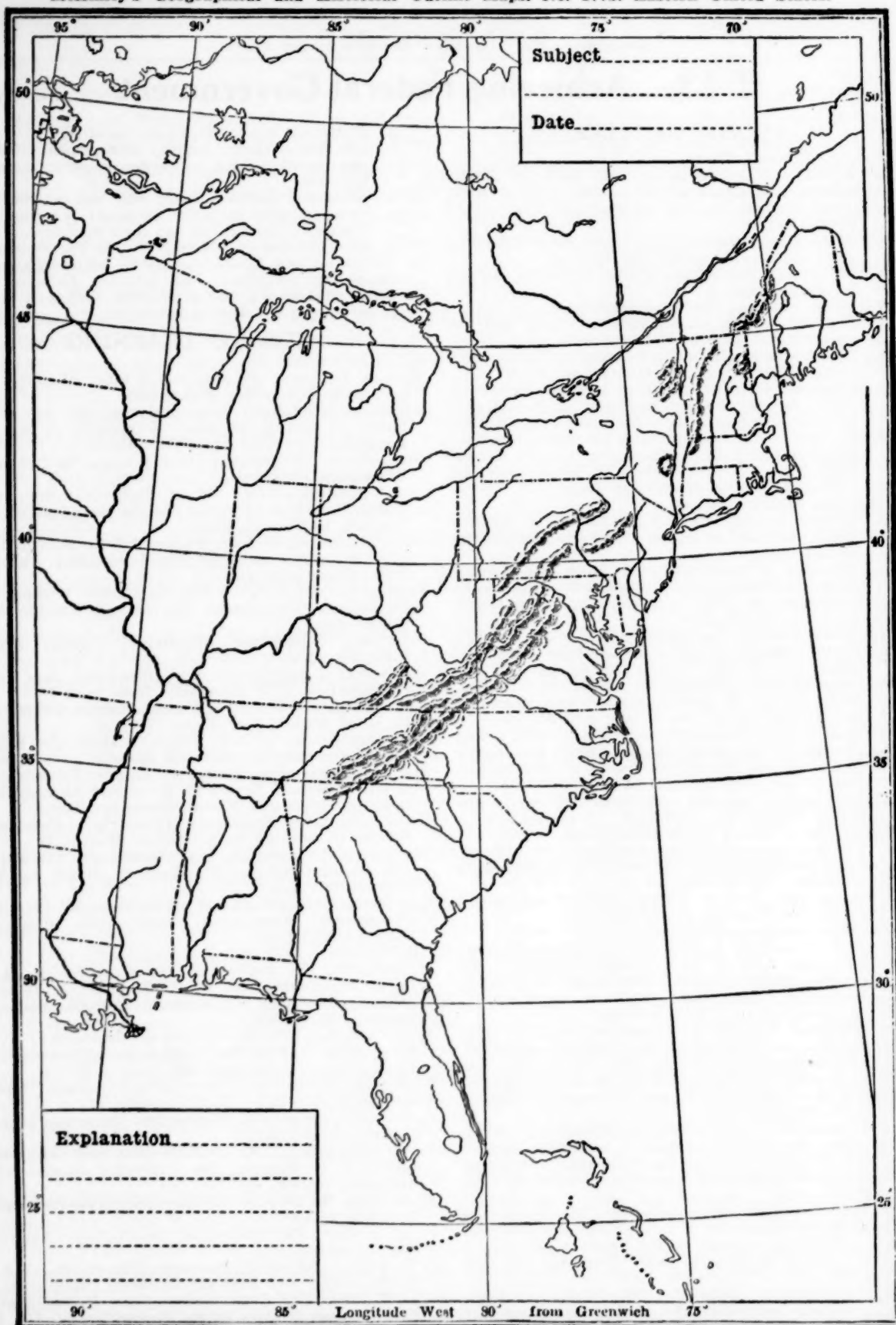
1. Critical Postwar Years
  - a. Articles of Confederation: felt need for union; making and adopting the Articles; the government provided, and its weaknesses; value of the Confederation
  - b. State governments: origins and main features; state sovereignty under the Articles
  - c. Forces and postwar conditions hindering union; fostering union
2. Troubled Years of the Confederation
  - a. Frictions within states, between states, and between states and the Confederation
  - b. Congressional difficulties in securing funds; currency problems; the trouble with the army
  - c. Economic troubles: postwar inflation and hard times; loss of foreign markets; interstate economic strife; Shays' Rebellion and its significance
  - d. Foreign relations: seeking foreign treaties; Hispano-American friction over use of Mississippi River; British failure to fulfill treaty of 1783 and to give up western forts
3. The New Federal Domain
  - a. Discord arising from state claims to western lands; wisdom of ceding claims to the federal government
  - b. Problems of territorial land policy and government; land surveys and proposals for government
  - c. Ordinance of 1787: provisions and remarkable features; significance
4. The New Federal Constitution
  - a. Futile attempts to amend the Articles; results of conferences at Mt. Vernon and Annapolis
  - b. Constitutional Convention, 1787: how called, when, where; its leaders; contest over amending the Articles or writing a new constitution
  - c. Making the Constitution: principal issues and proposals, and final compromises; underlying constitutional principles; frame of government and federal powers; fame of the Constitution
  - d. Ratification: debates and successful campaigns in the states; *The Federalist*, its importance
5. Launching a New Federal Government
  - a. The first campaigns and elections; the first inauguration; establishing executive departments (Cabinet) and federal courts
  - b. When and why the "Bill of Rights" was added to the Constitution; provisions
6. The New Government in Action
  - a. Rise of political parties under the Constitution; how they differed from earlier "factions"; the notable party leaders; Federalist and Anti-Federalist (Republican) views on major issues; party organization and methods
  - b. Hamilton and federal finances: complex debt problem and wisdom of his financial measures; his tariff views and the first tariff law; his reasons for an excise tax; debate on the issue of a United States Bank, and its creation; Hamilton's greatness
  - c. Troubles at home: Whiskey Rebellion; Indian wars; frictions in northwest with the English and in southwest with the Spaniards; discontent in Kentucky and Tennessee; terms of treaty with Spain, 1795
  - d. The French Revolution enmeshes the new nation
    - 1) European conditions after 1789; the wars and Washington's neutrality proclamation
    - 2) Causes of friction with England; the Jay Treaty
    - 3) Causes of friction with France; Citizen Genet's activities; the XYZ affair; naval war with France; treaty of 1800
7. Downfall of the Federalists
  - a. President Washington's statesmanship
  - b. Election of John Adams; enlargement of army and creation of a navy department; increased taxation
  - c. Alien and Sedition Acts; why enacted and provisions; why strongly opposed; Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions and their significance
  - d. How Adams and Hamilton split the Federalists
8. Campaign and Election of 1800: leading figures in campaign; unforeseen tie between Jefferson and Burr; Hamilton's role in electing Jefferson; threat of civil war; the 12th Amendment

### AIDS TO LEARNING

#### AUDIO-VISUAL

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- Alexander Hamilton; Daniel Boone (16 mm. silent films; 45 min. & 36 min.). Chronicles of America Photoplays, by Yale University Press
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- Our Constitution; Our Bill of Rights (16 mm. sound films; 21 min. & 22 min.). Eastin Pictures Co., P.O. Box 598, Davenport, Iowa
- Land of Liberty, Reel II; Yankee Doodle Goes to Town (16 mm. sound films; 20 min. & 10 min.). Teaching Film Custodians, Inc.
- Thomas Jefferson, Public Servant; Mount Vernon; Our Democratic Government (filmstrips). Creative Arts Studio, Inc.
- Freedom's Foundation (filmstrip). Popular Science Publishing Co.
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- Last Delegate (filmstrip). Young America Films, Inc., 18 E. 41 Street, New York, 17.
- The Constitution of the United States; the Bill of Rights (filmstrips). Pictorial Events
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- Great American Presidents (filmstrip). Curriculum Service Bureau for International Studies, Inc.
- The Constitution and the New Government (19 slides). The Pageant of America Lantern Slides, by Yale University Press
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- #### HISTORIES
- M. Farrand, *The Fathers of the Constitution*; H. J. Ford, *Washington and His Colleagues*; A. Johnson, *Jefferson and His Colleagues* (The Chronicles of America, vols. 13-15)
- E. B. Greene, *The Revolutionary Generation*; J. A. Krout & D. R. Fox, *The Completion of Independence* (A History of American Life, vols. 4, 5)
- A. B. Hart, *Formation of the Union* (Epochs of American History)
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- J. T. Adams, *Album of American History*, II; C. A. & M. R. Beard, *The Rise of American Civilization*, I; J. M. Beck, *The Constitution of the United States*; E. Channing, *History of the United States*, III, IV; D. C. Fisher, *Our Independence and the Constitution*; J. Fiske, *The Critical Period of American*

<sup>1</sup> This is the thirteenth of a series of History Topics for American History prepared by Morris Wolf, Girard College, Philadelphia, Pa.

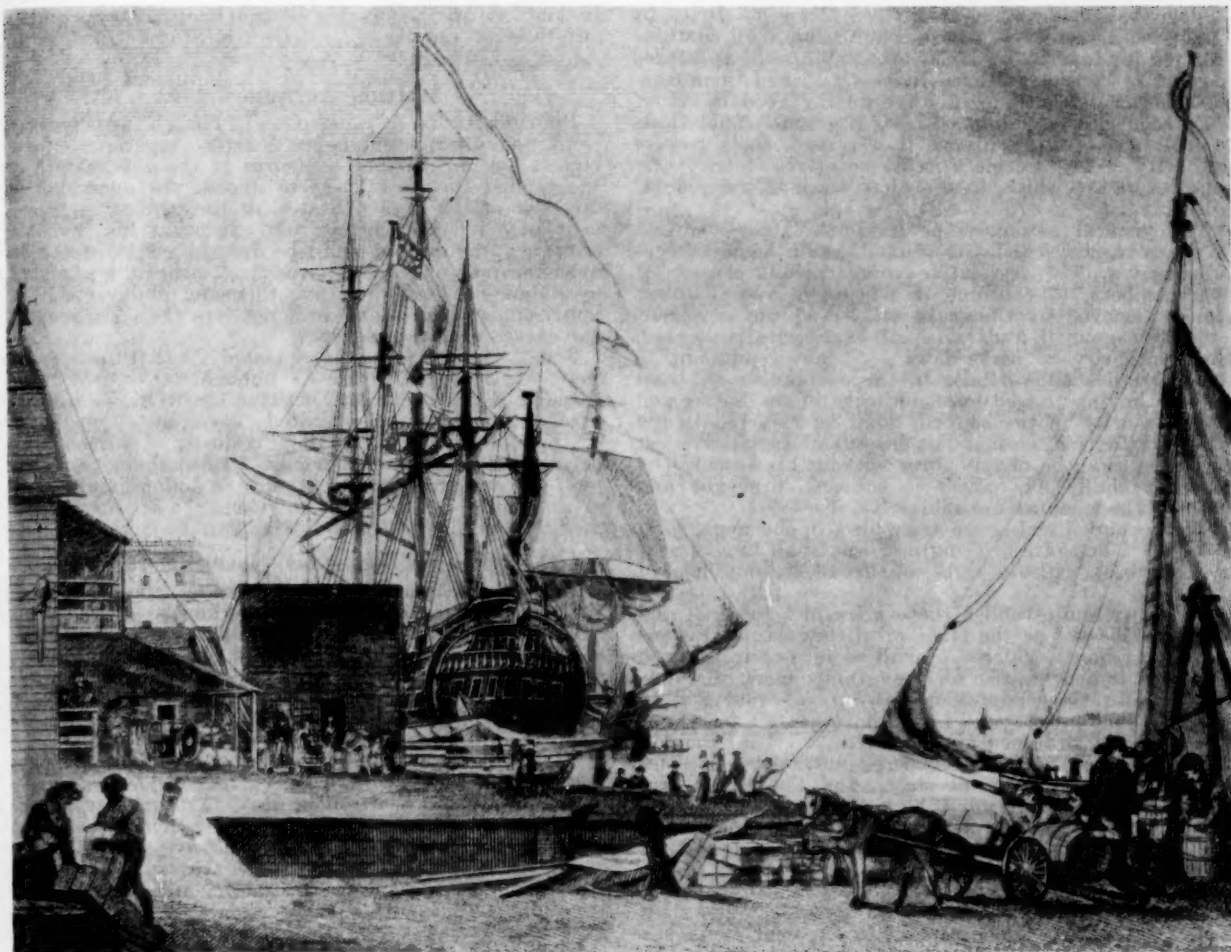


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MAP STUDY FOR TOPIC T13: CREATING THE NATIONAL DOMAIN

1. Label the thirteen original states. (What state boundaries of 1783 have since changed?)
2. Show the state claims to western lands and in each write the date when it was ceded to the federal government.

## WHEN PHILADELPHIA WAS THE NATION'S CAPITAL



This picture shows Arch Street wharf and ferry, on the Delaware River. Such scenes were familiar around 1800 in Boston, New York, Baltimore, Charleston and other sea towns. What stories does this picture tell?

History; M. Jensen, *The New Nation*; H. L. McBain, *The Living Constitution*; J. B. McMaster, *History of the People of the United States*, I, II; L. E. Richards, *Abigail Adams and Her Times*; F. Rodell, *Fifty-five Men*; C. Van Doren, *The Great Rehearsal: The Story of the . . . Constitution of the United States*

## BIOGRAPHIES

J. T. Adams, *The Living Jefferson*; S. K. Bolton, *Famous American Statesmen*; C. G. Bowers, *Jefferson and Hamilton*; I. Brant, *James Madison, The Nationalist*; F. & C. Hutchins, *Thomas Jefferson*; J. C. Long, *The Liberal Presidents*; T. F. Moran, *American Presidents*; H. Nicolay, *The Boys' Life of Alexander Hamilton & The Boys' Life of Thomas Jefferson*; E. E. Sparks, *The Men Who Made the Nation*. Consult the American Statesmen Series and the Dictionary of American Biography

## ATLASES

Harper's *Atlas of American History*; C. L. & E. H. Lord, *Historical Atlas of the United States*; C. O. Paullin, *Atlas of the Historical Geography of the United States*, Plate 47

## STORIES

G. Atherton, *The Conqueror*; F. Choate & E. Curtis, *Five Gold Sovereigns*; G. M. Cooke, *The Fortunes of John Hawk*; A. Dwight, *Kentucky Cargo*; W. A.

Dyer, *Sprigs of Hemlock*; E. Forbes, *The Running of the Tide*; D. Henderson, *Boone of the Wilderness*; M. Johnston, *Lewis Rand*; F. A. Kummer, *Torch of Liberty*; S. W. Mitchell, *The Red City*; E. Page, *The Tree of Liberty*; B. E. Stevenson, *The Heritage*

## SOURCES

H. S. Commager, *Documents of American History*, 75, 76, 80-86, 90, 93, 94, 98, 104; H. S. Commager & A. Nevins, *The Heritage of America*, 42-49; S. E. Forman, *Sidelights on Our Social and Economic History*, pp. 25-32, 59-63, 124-127, 295-303, 376-379, 399-408; A. B. Hart, *American History Told by Contemporaries*, III, chs. 2-15; F. Monaghan, *Heritage of Freedom*, 23, 26-41, 43, 47, 58, 63-66, 76, 77; D. S. Muzzey, *Readings in American History*, 40-52; *Old South Leaflets*, 1, 4, 10, 12, 13, 16, 41-43, 70, 74, 99, 103, 197; *Veterans of Foreign Wars, America*, IV ("The Critical Period")

## FAMOUS LAWS AND RESOLUTIONS, 1787-1798

## THE NORTHWEST ORDINANCE, JULY 13, 1787

*An Ordinance for the Government of the Territory of the United States, north-west of the river Ohio*  
Be it ordained by the United States in Congress assembled, . . .

That there shall be appointed, from time to time, by



Congress, a governor, whose commission shall continue in force for the term of three years. . . .

There shall be appointed, from time to time, by Congress, a secretary, whose commission shall continue in force for four years. . . . There shall also be appointed a court to consist of three judges. . . . and their commissions shall continue in force during good behavior.

So soon as there shall be 5000 free male inhabitants of full age, in the district . . . they shall receive authority . . . to elect representatives from their counties or townships, to represent them in the general assembly. . . .

The general assembly, or legislature, shall consist of the governor, legislative council, and a house of representatives. The legislative council shall consist of five members, to continue in office five years, unless sooner removed by Congress. . . . And the governor, legislative council and house of representatives, shall have authority to make laws . . . not repugnant to the principles and articles in the ordinance . . . And all bills having passed by a majority in the house, and by a majority in the council, shall be referred to the governor for his assent; but no bill or legislative act whatever, shall be of any force without his assent. The governor shall have power to convene, prorogue and dissolve the general assembly. . . .

. . . the council and house assembled, in one room, shall . . . elect a delegate to Congress, who shall have a seat in Congress, with a right of debating, but not of voting. . . .

. . . to fix and establish those principles [of civil and religious liberty] as the basis of all laws, constitutions and governments, which . . . shall be formed in the said territory: to provide also for the establishment of states, . . . and for their admission . . . on an equal footing with the original states, . . .

It is hereby ordained and declared, . . . That the following articles shall be considered as articles of compact between the original states and the people and states in the said territory, . . .

ART. 1ST. No person, demeaning himself in a peaceable and orderly manner, shall ever be molested on account of his mode of worship or religious sentiments, . . .

ART. 2D. The inhabitants of the said territory, shall always be entitled to the benefits of the writ of *habeas corpus*, and of the trial by jury; of a proportionate representation of the people in the legislature, and of judicial proceedings according to the course of common law. All persons shall be bailable, unless for capital offences, . . . All fines shall be moderate; and no cruel or unusual punishments shall be inflicted. No man shall be deprived of his liberty or property, but by the judgment of his peers, or the law of the land, . . .

ART. 3D. Religion, morality and knowledge being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged. . . .

ART. 5TH. There shall be formed in the said territory, not less than three, nor more than five states. . . .

ART. 6TH. There shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in the said territory, . . . —*Journals of Congress*, (ed. of 1801), XII, 58-63.

What government and personal rights were provided? Where on earth, in 1787, were similar rights in force? Why did the Congress make such liberal provisions?

#### ALIEN ACT, JUNE, 1798

SECTION 1. *Be it enacted* . . . That it shall be lawful for the President of the United States . . . to order all such *aliens* as he shall judge dangerous to the peace and safety of the United States . . . to depart out . . . of the United States. . . . every such alien [failing to depart] shall, on conviction thereof, be imprisoned for a term not exceeding three years, and shall never after be admitted to become a citizen of the United States. . . .

SEC. 2. . . . And if any alien so removed or sent out of the United States by the President shall voluntarily

return thereto, unless by permission of the President . . . such alien on conviction thereof, shall be imprisoned so long as, in the opinion of the President, the public safety may require. . . . —*United States Statutes at Large*, I, 570-571.

#### SEDITION ACT, JULY, 1798

SECTION 1. *Be it enacted* . . . That if any persons shall unlawfully combine or conspire together . . . to oppose any measure or measures of the government of the United States, . . . or to impede the operation of any law of the United States, or to intimidate or prevent any federal officer from executing his trust or duty; . . . he or they shall be deemed guilty of a high misdemeanor, and on conviction, . . . shall be punished by a fine not exceeding five thousand dollars, and by imprisonment during a term not less than six months nor exceeding five years. . . .

SEC. 2. *And be it further enacted*, That if any person shall write, print, utter or publish, . . . any false, scandalous and malicious writing or writings against the government of the United States or either house of the Congress . . . or the President . . . then such person, being thereof convicted . . . shall be punished by a fine not exceeding two thousand dollars, and by imprisonment not exceeding two years. . . . —*United States Statutes at Large*, I, 596-597.

#### KENTUCKY RESOLUTIONS, NOVEMBER 16, 1798

1. *Resolved*, that the several states composing the United States of America, are not united on the principle of unlimited submission to their general government; but that, by compact, under the style and title of a Constitution for the United States, and of amendments thereto, they constituted a general government for special purposes, delegated to that government certain definite powers, reserving, each state to itself, the residuary mass of right to their own self-government; and that whensoever the general government assumes undelegated powers, its acts are unauthorized, void, and of no force: . . . that this government, created by this compact, was not made the exclusive or final judge of the extent of the powers delegated to itself, since that would have made its discretion, and not the Constitution, the measure of its powers; but that . . . each party has an equal right to judge for itself, as well of infractions as of the mode and measure of redress.

2. *Resolved*, that the Constitution of the United States having delegated to Congress a power to punish treason, counterfeiting the securities and current coin of the United States, piracies and felonies committed on the high seas, and offences against the laws of nations, and no other crimes whatever; . . . therefore, also, the same act of Congress passed on the 14th day of July, 1798, . . . as also the act passed by them on the 27th day of June, 1798, . . . are altogether void. . . .

9. *Resolved*, lastly, . . . that if the acts before specified should stand, these conclusions would flow from them—that the general government may place any act they think proper on the list of crimes and punish it themselves, whether enumerated or not enumerated by the Constitution . . . and the barrier of the Constitution thus swept away from us all, no rampart now remains against the passions and the powers of a majority of Congress, . . .

That this Commonwealth does therefore call on its co-states for an expression of their sentiments on the acts concerning aliens, . . . And it doubts not that . . . the co-states, . . . will concur in declaring these [acts] void and of no force, and will each unite with this commonwealth in requesting their repeal . . . —*Elliot, Debates . . . on the Federal Constitution* IV, 540-544.

How did Jefferson, author of these resolutions, view the constitutional relationship of federal and state governments? What provisions of the Alien and Sedition Acts seemed to him to violate that relationship? On what grounds did he say that states could declare Congressional acts void? How did the Kentucky Resolutions affect our later history?

(Continued from page 70)

economic burden and they thought that it would also increase their own wealth.

Many of the political leaders of the United States resented the pretensions of royal governors. The legislatures very frequently controlled the purse strings and thus were able to coerce the governor. Here they had a precedent which promised success in their struggle against English absolutism, for to them the king was only a magnified governor.

The Puritans likewise contributed to the agitation against England. To them, the English system of the eighteenth century was like a veritable Babylon. They looked upon it somewhat in the same light as the inhabitants of a strait-laced middle western town regard today the sinful ways of New York. They were certain that in America a new morality was being established which could not be guided by the wicked English influence. Some were afraid that England might set up a Bishop of North America; they remembered only too well the arbitrary actions of the various Archbishops of Canterbury, especially Laud.

Most opposed to England were the frontiersmen, who knew no class distinction and regarded English aristocracy with contempt. The struggle was made real by the dislike of the frontiersmen for the tax collector. Again and again taxes were important issues in American history; thus, antagonism to government taxation did not cease after the Revolution was won.

#### FRANKLIN

By 1776 the United States had developed a new type of man best represented by Benjamin Franklin, who, both at home and abroad, was regarded as the symbol of American success.

When Franklin came to Paris in 1777, he was a favorite of the sophisticated Parisian society. They liked his simplicity, his sense of humor, and his scientific talents. They all knew how he had arisen from poverty to wealth; how he had struggled against reverses, being a child of a family of seventeen. Franklin had done much reading in his youth, including Locke, Plutarch and Plato. He was, indeed, a man who represented the possibilities of democracy. His career showed how much could be done in a society which did not allow for a social caste system.

In Franklin the philosophy of Adam Smith

was apparent, but in his works it was a progressive rather than a conservative influence. He wanted the government to adopt a *laissez-faire* attitude because he thought that American economy should not be shackled by the arbitrary decrees of the king. To him, economic laws were as self-evident, as clearly established, as mathematical axioms.

To Franklin, agriculture was the noblest activity of man. He had studied history sufficiently to know that countries acquired wealth in three ways—through war, as the Romans did, which meant plunder; through trade which represented, frequently, corruption; and through agriculture, which meant complete integrity to Franklin.

To Franklin, religion was not a matter of absolute theological doctrines but an explanation of universal ideals. He regarded Christ as the best representative of a superior system of morality. As to his divinity he had his doubts; he asserted that it might be useful to have people believe that Christ is the Son of God, if such a faith had beneficial consequences. His tolerance was noteworthy and he did not want to impose his opinions upon those who differed in their religious ideas.

His most popular contribution to American life came through *Poor Richard's Almanac*, as important to those who wanted to make money as the saints' stories were for medieval people in quest of salvation. Franklin had excellent advice for the ambitious. Let him rise early; let him be concerned with the affairs of today; let him work hard; let him be thrifty, and let him use common sense as a guide.

In his political theories, Franklin was in favor of universal manhood suffrage, a unicameral legislature directly responsible to the voters, and annual elections as the best guarantee for a strong democracy.

Franklin represented in many ways the best philosophical traits of Colonial America. He was enlightened in his religious thinking, his mind was open to scientific experiments, he was forever concerned with the spread of education, and he dedicated himself wholeheartedly to the ideal of liberalism.

#### THE EUROPEAN BACKGROUND

Most of the revolutionary leaders had a wide acquaintance with European ideas. They read not only the eminent writers of the seventeenth



century like Locke, Filmer, and Sidney, but they were acquainted with the outstanding Greek thinkers and the French Encyclopedists as well as with Rousseau, who played a prominent role in the political discussions of the colonies.

The right which Locke defended most vigorously was that of private property. Whoever tried to violate it was usurping the legitimate limits of power. To Locke the government was not an absolute institution; rather its justification was found in utility.

The colonial thinkers appreciated Locke for his common sense attitude. He was not a man who, like Descartes, spoke of innate ideas, nor did he discuss abstruse questions of morality. The colonial minds approved his plea for tolerance; they noted that he did not go too far by including atheists. They noted, too, that in his theory of education, he rebelled against classical training and instead dwelt upon the importance of practical subjects.

To the 18th Century American, Rousseau offered convincing arguments against absolutism. Although Rousseau's treatment of the history of society was unscientific, it appealed to the colonists, for he talked about a utopian state of nature, when men were truly happy and free from the corruption of the arts and sciences.

Rousseau had a far more radical economic conception than Locke. His equality implied a destruction of economic privileges. In the nineteenth century, reformers again and again would appeal to him and they would find in him an ideal description of the state of nature which contrasted sharply with the rapid rate of industrialism which America was experiencing in that period.

Samuel Adams and Thomas Paine were the foremost agitators for American independence. Both were greatly skilled in coining phrases and in framing slogans that appealed to the men on the street. In later days, their work would be continued by journalists and news commentators. That same simplicity of style that is found in Paine's *Common Sense* can be seen again in Ernie Pyle's description of the G. I. of World War II.

Samuel Adams was a master strategist in committee meetings. This again was an important accomplishment, for in the United

States changes are brought about mainly through small specialized groups. Perhaps in no other nation are there so many committee meetings; it is almost a government by committees, for committees, and of committees.

Adams, like Paine, attacked the personal character of the king. Many of his middle class followers regarded this as an act of treason, for the king was regarded almost as a divine person. But the frontiersmen approved, for they saw in the king a symbol of oppression and a relic of the feudal age.

Thomas Paine completed the work of Samuel Adams. In his *Common Sense*, he used two powerful arguments. First, he showed that a liberal system is the best form of government. England posed as a democratic state but, in reality, it was just as arbitrary as Spain and France. Theoretically, the Parliament of England was independent of the Royal power; practically it was a tool of the King, whom he called "a crowned ruffian."

The second argument in *Common Sense* appealed to American self-interest. He asked his contemporaries why they should always send their petitions three or four thousand miles away; why they should wait for an answer for half a year; why they should invariably be delayed in the conduct of their political affairs. He showed how colonial administration was becoming more complex all the time. What was even more important, he indicated that, as long as the Colonies remained tied to England's apron strings, they would be involved in European wars. In this manner he again struck a responsive chord, for he appealed to American isolationism. The slogan that he used, "England to Europe and America to itself," would appeal to the isolationists of the 1920's, who thought that the affairs of Europe had no meaning for the United States, that it could remain aloof from the onslaughts of totalitarianism.

*Common Sense* was a challenge. The American struggle, according to Paine, was that of freedom against tyranny:

"The Sun never shined on a cause of greater worth. 'Tis not the affair of a City, a County, a Province, or a Kingdom; but of a Continent—of at least one eighth part of the habitable Globe. 'Tis not the concern of a day, a year, or an age; posterity are virtually involved in the contest, and will be more or less affected even



to the end of time, by the proceedings now."

It ended with a passionate appeal:

"O! Ye that love mankind! Ye that dare oppose not only the tyranny but the tyrant, stand forth! Every spot of the old world is overrun with oppression. Freedom hath been hunted round the Globe. Asia and Africa have long expelled her. Europe regards her like a stranger, and England hath given her warning to depart. O! receive the fugitive, and prepare in time an asylum for mankind."

These arguments are symbolic of the vitality of American democracy, which will never succumb to the lures of totalitarianism.

Later on agitators used the same arguments, yet the causes they represented were less sublime. Perhaps they only championed lower taxes but they would speak with the same conviction and exaggeration. Mr. Brogan, in *The American Character*, notes how frequently senators discuss the building of post offices in their district as if it were a matter of life and death for the nation. Exaggeration is needed in revolutionary times. In periods of peace and tranquility it becomes ridiculous and adds to the cultural lag.

#### THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

The thoughts of Paine were echoed by the American Declaration of Independence. It is an impressive document, the language is clear and succinct, but it abounds with generalizations to which men have recourse when they justify their political theology.

The powerful documents of American history, like Lincoln's Gettysburg Address, Wilson's Fourteen Points, and The Atlantic Charter, all express faith in general principles. Thus, the Declaration of Independence was a charter against tyranny and governmental absolutism; Wilson's Fourteen Points were to outlaw war and guarantee universal peace, while the Atlantic Charter had an even more ambitious purpose for it was to establish freedom from want and freedom from fear.

Undoubtedly, man needs an absolute political faith. He needs definite assurances; he desires ready-made formulae for action; he wants his struggle for freedom to have a cosmic significance. But the weakness of the American mind lies in its neglect of specific facts and in its failure to apply general principles to everyday

situations. Thus American political aspirations often suffer somewhat the same fate as noble religious ideals. They are confined to a Fourth of July celebration, to a congressional debate, or to the joyous mass meetings at election times.

John Adams said that Congress had debated over these ideas for two years and Richard Henry Lee saw the distinctive influence of John Locke. The real value of the Declaration of Independence lies in its succinct organization and its idealistic philosophy. It answers the question regarding the general function of executive power by saying governments are instituted for the advancement of the individual and that political systems must be justified by their utility.

The preamble is typically American. The phrase, "decent respect for the opinions of mankind" has been used again and again in American history. It is not enough that certain political and economic actions are taken. They must be well publicized; they must convince other nations as well as the citizens at home. Psychological warfare is not a new invention in American history, for it started with the Declaration of Independence, which impressed European liberals as much as it enlightened citizens at home. It is being continued today in propaganda broadcasts to Europe which emphasize the superiority of the American way of life.

In the first body of the Declaration of Independence, there is a statement that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. These truths were not self-evident in colonial times. To John Adams, to Gouverneur Morris, and to Alexander Hamilton, these were distasteful ideas; it seemed clear to them that men were born unequal and that their rights were dependent upon governmental authority.

The pursuit of happiness was to be furthered by the Declaration of Independence. The sophisticated European will smile and he will ask, how can happiness be established by law? Having experienced the oppressions and the abuses of governmental authority, he does not believe that the pursuit can be guaranteed by anyone. Here, indeed, was an optimistic philosophy. It revealed the faith of the American Colonist in a glorious future.

How far the American mind had traveled from the austere pessimism of the Puritans! To the latter, life on earth was only a temporary sojourn, a valley of sorrow; the aim of existence, according to the Puritans, was virtue, not happiness. To the later Americans, the pursuit of happiness implied the pursuit of pleasure. In the twentieth century, the insistent search for amusement is one of the common bonds that tie Americans together.

The Declaration of Independence again used excellent phraseology by concentrating upon the cruelties and usurpations of the English King. The enemies of American freedom are usually pictured in the most violent colors from the Beast of Berlin to the devilish Hitler. The man on the street cannot understand a moderate and compromising attitude. He is much more ready to assent to a fanatical and one-sided viewpoint. Above all, he needs the conviction that he is fighting for a holy and just cause.

In politics there is a distinct difference between ideal and actuality. Jefferson realized that the colonists wanted to believe in these self-evident truths. To say that this philosophy is false is a naive standpoint, for it represents the ideals of the eighteenth century, and stood for the ultimate aspirations of the American liberal.

#### THE RESULTS OF THE REVOLUTION

What were the social results of the American revolution? Above all, it led to an intensification of American nationalism. This is part of the life history of the revolutionary ideal. The French experienced the same feeling after their struggle against absolutism was successful, when they regarded themselves as a chosen people whose task would be to spread the ideals of liberty, fraternity, and equality. Likewise, the Russians, after their revolution was es-

tablished, became extremely nationalistic and almost deified their country and their leaders.

A new patriotism developed in the United States. George Washington became a semi-divine figure and his Farewell Address became the Bible for American foreign policy. The dark days of the American Revolution were glorified by later thinkers. The struggle of MacArthur in 1942 thus was compared with Valley Forge.

At the same time, the Revolution changed the social structure of America. Many of the Loyalists fled to Canada or returned to England. When they came back after the peace treaties, they found that their estates had been broken up and their political influence had been undermined. Democracy expanded with the suffrage being extended to many members of the lower classes, with determined efforts being made against slavery. Virginia, Maryland, South Carolina and Delaware forbade importation of slaves, although the last state did not adhere strictly to this policy.

The method of landholding was liberalized; primogeniture and entail were abolished. The tenant system was eliminated in the North after the large estates had been divided. It must be remembered that some estates, like those of Fairfax, were almost provinces in themselves. If they had not been divided, their owners might have set up an aristocratic government for the United States.

The Revolution had a constructive effect upon religious freedom, for it gradually led to the disestablishment of the churches. Education now was not reserved for the sons of the patricians but was opened to the lower classes. Intelligence replaced social status and social stratification was eased considerably. In every way the Revolution made for real democracy in the United States.

## Teaching Pupils to Think for Themselves

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America is constantly flooded with newspaper and magazine articles and editorials

which tell us what the United States needs most. Much of this makes a good deal of sense.

But too many of these writers merely stress reasons *why* we should do this, that, and the other thing to meet America's pressing problems. A greater and more difficult task is that of making clear *how* the desired objectives can be achieved.

Our contention is that what the United States needs most and always will need most is more and more millions of citizens who do their own thinking instead of letting others do their thinking for them.

Experienced teachers know that students, like the rest of us, learn best by considering a specific topic or theme rather than generalities. Therefore, in this article we propose to indicate *how* independent thinkers can be developed by reading and studying current events, rather than to write about the subject in general terms. We could have illustrated how this indispensable objective might be achieved by considering the teaching of English, history, geography, politics, economics, physics, chemistry or any other subject in the modern school curriculum. Instead we selected the teaching of current events because such events are used by progressive teachers in all of our school subjects, and read by millions of adult citizens.

Two things especially we desire our readers to keep in mind. First, what the reading and study of current events can do in transforming students into independent and genuine thinkers, it also can do for those beyond school age. The other is that teaching oneself to think and teaching others to think are the greatest things in learning and teaching.

If teachers themselves are to become real thinkers and train their students to become such, they must know the fundamental characteristics of the thinker, understand the things that must be done to produce independent thinkers, and use methods and devices that will aid students to think for themselves.

Mark Twain once said that "it is astonishing to what lengths people will go to avoid thinking." We take it that he did not mean that people could not think or could not be trained or train themselves to think. He probably had in mind a considerable number of reasons why so many individuals avoided thinking. If Mark Twain were here today, he probably would tell us that most people do no real thinking because they are intellectually too lazy to think. It

would not surprise us if he said that the vast majority of Americans entertain too many enemies of thinking to become thinkers—ignorance, unsupported opinions, prejudice, bigotry, preconceived notions, mental cowardice, venerable beliefs, anti-racial feelings, gullibility, unreasonable partisanship.

And Mark Twain would feel justified in adding that most people don't think because they have never asked themselves this crucial question: "*Why* do I believe *what* I believe?" It is reasonable to assume that millions of our people do no rigorous thinking because they have not trained themselves or been trained to think that way, because they are too busy to take time to think or imagine that they are, and because they are afraid that independent thinking would be disastrous to their present political, economic, social and religious beliefs. The thoughtful reader could add numerous other reasons why so many people do no real thinking.

How do we know when an individual is a sound and efficacious thinker? The obvious answer is when he possesses the leading marks or characteristics of such a person. But like all general statements, this one does not help us very much in answering our question. In order to answer it correctly, we must know specifically what the outstanding characteristics of a real thinker are. When we do know them we will also know what to aim at in developing students to the status of genuine thinkers.

Among the marks of the thinker are these: abundance of knowledge in general, mastery of some special subject, power to analyze facts, ability to apply acquired information where and when needed, competence in organizing what has been read or heard, capacity to draw reasonable inferences and conclusions, patience in solving problems, the habit of asking questions which manifest considerable reflection, power to interpret correctly what has been noticed or done.

Other characteristics of the thinker are: ability to decipher new ways and means and methods of doing things, eagerness to do hard mental work, capacity to exercise good judgment in the affairs of daily living and human association, fervent earnestness to evict discordant thoughts, avid desire to effect mental



orientation and mental reorientation, skill in critical thinking, possession of a generous modern vocabulary, and ability to find required information quickly when wanted.

To assist young American citizens in evicting from their minds the enemies of thinking and to aid them in the development of thinker-characteristics constitute the primary duties of all teachers and parents.

Despite what we have said thus far about the problem of teaching ourselves and others to think, our readers may justly persist in asking just how the individual can become a real thinker.

The achievement of this necessary objective is no easy matter; it is not exceedingly difficult, however. It is certain that merely wishing to become a thinker will not do the job. Performing certain mental operations will not win the desired prize either. For instance, one may read the newspapers regularly and yet be classified as a non-thinker. He may listen to radio commentators daily and nevertheless be outside the thinker group. He may read books so much that he will read himself into stupidity.

What must a person do or be induced to do that he may become a genuine thinker? Here are some specific suggestions on the development of the power to think—suggestions which the teacher will tactfully instil in the minds of his students: (1) The individual must want to think and have confidence that he can think and think better and better as time goes on; (2) he must be convinced in his own mind that it is worth all it costs to become a thinker—that it pays in terms of self-satisfaction and pays, as well, in terms of dollars and cents; (3) he must cast aside superficial and inattentive ways of reading and listening; (4) he must not be a blind follower, a mere "yes" person, for anybody or any cause; (5) he must form the habit of questioning his own judgments and conclusions as well as the judgments and conclusions expressed by others; (6) he must develop the practice of asking more and more thought-provoking and problem-solving questions which *utilize* the facts and data employed in answering "what" or memory-training questions; (7) he must not be satisfied in giving but one reason for believing this, that or the other thing but rather must train himself in giving several reasons why he believes thus and

so; (8) he must be quite willing to change his own opinions and beliefs when new-found facts and good reasoning dictate or reveal that what he believes was founded on insufficient data; (9) he must always keep in mind that his thinking determines his actions, his behavior and his value to himself and to society.

In these nine specific suggestions and the seventeen thinker-characteristics previously tabulated, the teacher and all other adults have a rather complete design of aims that should be realized if they and their students are to be converted into real thinkers. We suggest that teachers, parents and others review these aims frequently, keeping in mind that their major duty is to think out ways and means of accomplishing them.

The performance of this duty may seem to some teachers and other people a frightful and almost impossible task. That would be a needless and foolish misconception, because it is untrue.

A few comments on two of the listed characteristics of the thinker will disclose that our contention is sound. One of these deals with the relation of *vocabulary building* to the development of the power to think. This indispensable phase of education has never been given the accentuation it deserves, despite the fact that many teachers emphasize it. Our contention is that altogether too many teachers are quite satisfied if their students are able to give merely dictionary definitions of words and phrases. But one may be able to give such definitions glibly and still be unable to understand the real meaning of words so defined.

We go so far as to assert that no one comprehends the true meaning of words unless he can (1) *define them accurately*, (2) *give illustrations of them*, (3) *comment intelligently on their significance*, and (4) *mention one or more problems connected with them*.

How many teachers insist that students do these four things? How many teachers themselves practice this method in building up their own vocabularies? The study of words by this formula requires genuine thinking. If in doubt, try it out on such terms as democracy, labor unions, management, prices, profits, wages, religion, Socialism, Communism, Americanism.

No one can think without the use of words. But the mere possession of a large vocabulary

does not mean better thinking, for words themselves do not think. Therefore constant attention must be given to the mastery, the significance and the application of words in relation to human associations and personal and social relations in social advancement. This is the paramount way of getting ideas, more ideas, new ideas which make one's life more satisfactory, more fruitful in the achievement of friendship and earning power, more helpful in the solution of personal and community problems.

#### SKILL IN CRITICAL THINKING

The other suggestion we comment on is skill in *critical thinking*. What is critical thinking? How can it be developed in our students and in those beyond school age?

Critical thinking certainly does not mean mere fault-finding. It does not mean always opposing whatever others propose. Nor does it mean that human beings should be expert grouchers and carping critics. Critical thinking means constructive thinking, penetrating thinking, discriminating thinking. It means ability to exercise discerning and intelligent judgment.

Such thinking can be developed in our students and in ourselves by careful and intensive consideration of problems in our daily lives, by thinking out (not reciting) the pros and cons of specific current economic, social and political propositions, by stating concrete examples of general ideas. It can be achieved also by drawing one's own conclusions about what has been read or heard, by deciding what sentence in a paragraph is the most important one.

Critical thinking can be effected too by asking students to discuss whether any of the school rules and regulations should be changed or dropped altogether, by asking them to determine what was irrelevant and immaterial in a class or public discussion of a current problem or issue, and by debating controversial questions, such as whether labor unions possess monopoly power.

Perhaps without knowing it, psychologists have exposed ideas which indicate why the teaching of current events can serve effectively the cause of teaching students to become real thinkers. They tell us that people in general

think more carefully about what takes place in their own time than they do about what took place years ago. For instance, the average person living in a community in Massachusetts today certainly would think more seriously about the destruction of a neighbor's home by fire than about the ruin of a home in England by fire in 1750.

Psychologists say that thinking means "a process of comparing, deliberating, or weighing possibilities and coming to a decision." This shows that a great opportunity to develop the power to think exists when current events are made an *integral part* of the various courses offered in our schools and colleges. These same authorities assure us that "life is a continuous process of judging, weighing, balancing, drawing conclusions, not a process of reciting sums, dates, and locations." What better way is there of meeting this definition of life than that of studying and discussing current events, which are always part and parcel of our daily life? One thing is certain. The teacher, if he is to fulfill his duty in the classroom, must not view the teaching of current events as animal training—a matter of recitation, repetition and drill. That procedure is still the greatest curse in modern teaching.

In our classrooms too little attention is given to the fact that the teaching of school subjects from the viewpoint of one textbook (the usual practice) is indeed very unfortunate—unfortunate because nearly all students are almost sure to accept what texts say as the whole truth. Such a practice is a deadly enemy of openmindedness, the essential element in progressive education and the surest means of understanding and preserving our democratic society. A noted educator put it this way: "The method of learning history from one source induces uncritical receptiveness of mind and a resultant dogmatism that carries forward only too fatally into adult judgments on historical and political issues."

In the light of this statement, would it not be reasonable and sensible for our teachers to believe that they would render a lasting contribution to effective thinking and sound American citizenship if they caused our 30,000,000 students to realize that all the vital problems and issues recorded in textbooks have their *counterparts* in current events, accounts of

which are sure to reveal some viewpoints and concepts not found in the textbooks?

This profound fact presents a marvelous opportunity for students to judge and weigh and balance what the text says with what current events say about the same problems and to draw their own conclusions. The maxim is that current events material should always be studied and discussed in *connection with* textbook material and textbook material should always be studied and taught in connection with current events.

This is a strong and reasonable injunction and a necessary one. How can this job be executed? In reality it is easier than learning the A B C's or the multiplication table. The following points partially indicate how the problem of student open-mindedness may be solved.

1. At the beginning of the school year, *before* textbooks have been distributed, the teacher asks his students to name and list during one or more class periods topics and problems which *they think* the newspapers and magazines will cover during the school year. This exercise may not start off easily, because in all probability the students have never thought of such a question. Gradually the discussion will speed up, as first one and then another of the class mentions a problem or topic. At the end of this initial experience the list will be a rather long one, including without doubt such topics as political parties, Communism, high prices, labor union demands, speculation, pressure groups, scientific achievements, propaganda, profits, wages, aiding the unfortunate, government spending, social security, education, religion, and so on *ad infinitum*. The students are already on their way to real and fruitful thinking,—and they like their school work from the start.

2. Next, the teacher requires the students to consult the table of contents and the index of the social studies text to discover whether it treats the same or similar topics. To their amazement, they will see that it does. Naturally, the students will now do some more thinking, harder thinking. They know their text must have been published some time ago, perhaps years ago, and they also know that the newspaper was published only yesterday. They will wonder why both sources of information deal

with the same problems. Some of them will ask why textbook questions and problems were not solved in the yesteryears so that we would not need to bother our heads about solving them today. Other students will query whether certain human problems are insoluble. Such questions will start class discussion which will develop in young Americans the power to think critically and constructively, perhaps for the first time in their lives. This is real education.

3. The third step will confirm the first one, but will go much further than that one did. The teacher enjoins every student to cut from the newspapers regularly, week in and week out, accounts of current events which record and discuss the problems of the present scene, separate them according to topics, and keep their clippings (and the class magazine issues) *on file* so that they may become an *integral part* of the subject matter of the course of study during the school term or year. Thus current events material and textbook material are always studied and discussed together.

What an enlightening and enduring experience when students themselves discover that newspapers and magazines record and discuss the whole sweep of human activities, even more so than do textbooks! Now and then members of the class will certainly tell the teacher that they do not know to which file some of their clippings belong. This difficulty should be submitted to class discussion. Experience has shown that in deciding such questions many students discover for the first time that most problems of our democracy are interrelated and interdependent—a thought-provoking disclosure for young citizens. So might it be for most of our adult citizens.

4. In discussing current events topics and textbook problems, the teacher will advance student open-mindedness and power to do real thinking if he insists that class members must not be governed by emotionalism and unrealistic slogans in what they say when they participate in class discussions, class panels, and class debates. Sound thinking rather than emotion should govern what students say—concrete, nonpartisan, objective, disinterested, impartial, and impersonal thinking based on facts and valid reasoning. Isn't this also excellent advice for those beyond school age?



Manifestly, current history teaching and all other instruction, rightly conducted, is the arch enemy of the prejudiced, the partisan, the dogmatic, the closed mind—the curse of human advancement.

From years and years of experience, the writer is convinced that if public education in all our schools and colleges were conducted along these lines, and if our adult population read newspapers and magazines in some such fashion as suggested in this discussion, future adult minds would not think so crudely, so confusedly, so dangerously, and so fruitlessly

about public questions and issues as do so many minds today.

We believe that the best way to fight and conquer Communism and all the other enemies of liberty is to train our school and college population, which becomes our adult population, to think for themselves and draw their own conclusions.

If such an individual and group program of education as we have sketched were carried out on a national scale, democracy as we know it would be understood by all, preserved, and made to work successfully as long as time endures.

## A Hypothetical Letter

TO AN IMAGINARY SUPERINTENDENT ABOUT A PROBLEM  
FACING AMERICAN EDUCATION

MARY BEAUCHAMP

*School of Education, New York University, New York, N. Y.*

145 East 22nd Street  
New York, New York  
August 29, 1950

Mr. Wilbur Potter  
Superintendent of Schools  
Waynesville, U.S.A.  
Dear Mr. Potter

Your letter, stating that for the coming year the use of materials which are prepared by organizations such as Standard Oil, General Motors, CIO, and which we usually call commercially sponsored materials, will be banned from the social studies classes, disturbs me greatly. This decision made, as it evidently was, without consulting those of us who are teaching these classes runs counter to the beliefs and practices for which our school has stood during the past decade. The matter is of such concern to me that I would like to develop in detail the implications which seem to reside in this decision.

Public education in the United States is being attacked today on so many fronts that it behooves all of us to examine critically the direction toward which we are being pushed and to understand as fully as possible the meaning which our decisions hold for the future of democratic living in America and in the world. As educators we need to ask ourselves who is

bringing this pressure on the public schools and why.

It would be easy to protest on the basis of interference with academic freedom, but there is something more vital at stake in the decision to limit the materials which we may use in our classrooms. Let me develop the inherent weaknesses and dangers which I see in such a position.

Over a period of many years the teachers of Waynesville have developed a philosophy of education which recognizes that the urgent task of the school is to develop citizens who can *think* in the context of American democracy and in a world situation. Now to those of us in Waynesville the ability to think has precise meaning. We are concerned with means and ends in a situation that has purpose, that is aware of relationships, that recognizes the necessity for collecting *all* available data and testing tentative decisions in terms of their probable consequences. We refer to this process as the scientific method of intelligence, and we endeavor continuously to help youth solve his problems through the use of this method.

The Social Studies Department of Waynesville has utilized this method in its classes regardless of the content of the course. To do this we must have live materials, materials

which are more than generalized statements of fact, such as many of our texts are. We have used commercially sponsored materials to help us as we endeavor to guide youth in a critical analysis of present-day institutions. Surely, one of the major problems facing America is a reconstruction of the meaning of democracy in the complicated, industrialized age of the mid-twentieth century.

We have found that we can stimulate youth to think critically by analyzing, for instance, the statements of the objectives of the AFL, NAM, CIO, the Council of Churches, the Ethical Society, insurance companies, FOA, and so on. Such an analysis brings in a wealth of first-hand, live materials about issues which are still to be resolved. These issues cannot be studied unless we have the statements from the organizations directly. Yet these issues are the very ones which must be dealt with eventually and the school becomes an unreal life when these sources are walled off. Such an analysis clarifies the common purposes and the divergent interests of our society and thus enables youth to grasp in some measure the responsibilities which he inevitably faces as a citizen of this country. To deny youth the guidance of mature individuals in analyses of this type is to deny one's basic faith in intelligence. Thus I am moved to protest the banning of commercially sponsored materials as a threat to the very fibre of our democratic institutions.

If we look at the problem from the point of view of value judgments, we are confronted again with questions that make a vast difference in the quality of living which we have in America.

If you accept, as we have in Waynesville, that values arise in specific situations wherein evaluations, judgments, or choices must be made, then do we not as teachers of youth have the moral responsibility to bring into the learning situation as many opportunities as possible for the forming of such value judgments, and thus increase under guidance the range in which choices must be made? A common lament heard in our culture is that the American people are gullible, that we believe everything that comes over the air or that is plastered on a billboard, that we are suckers for propaganda. We seek in our social studies classes to teach a method by which defensible values may be formed. We

would find it infinitely more difficult to succeed in this undertaking if we are to be limited to materials which are limited in scope and which of necessity are abstracted from the context of genuine life.

It is our aim to educate a generation of youth who are qualified to act as mature, intelligent citizens. This assumes that social consequences are to be considered the criteria upon which value judgments are formed. If we as teachers are to be denied the exercising of our judgment in the kind of materials which we use in the classroom, we are hardly in a defensible position to urge youth to so operate. You may say now that I am arguing for academic freedom. To be sure I am, not because academic freedom per se is at stake, but rather because as a teacher I am being curtailed in my ability to teach the youth of my classes a sound method for making evaluations in a democracy. This is critical.

Then, too, I cannot keep from wondering if materials can be deleted because of pressure of some special interest group, what is to keep other practices which we have developed on the basis of much testing and evaluating from being attacked in a like, whimsical manner? Do we dare as educators to accept values which are handed down from any group regardless of their motives or their position? Do we not consider it necessary to arrive at our values through a method of public inquiry which verifies the decisions which guide our actions? In the long-run does *suppressing* or *limiting* ever succeed in maintaining or building any society? I wonder if the purposes being served by the pressures you mention are contrary to public wishes and to the public good.

Another concern which I have about the decision is one that touches all of us who teach and who try to be sensitive to the vast possibilities that teachers have in shaping young lives. So much depends upon the rapport which exists between teacher and students. This rapport is hard to explain. We have inadequate means to describe the differences we note as we visit from room to room. I do not wish to oversimplify the matter by stating that materials make the difference between a live, dynamic situation in which inquiry seems to be going on at a high level, but I am certain that for me materials help.

The traditional American public school pattern has erected tremendous obstacles to a functioning system of education. Some progress has been made in breaking through, in redefining the pattern which has walled us in for so long. We have begun to recognize the value of first-hand experiences, of life situations, of purposeful activity. We are just on the threshold of discovering what we can do when we use creative imagination in teaching. My plea is that we seek a more creative method than that represented by restriction in response to the pressures which now are being placed upon public education in Waynesville.

May I suggest then an alternative procedure? You state that public demand has caused you to make the decision outlined in your letter. Would it not be possible to bring together, when school opens next week, representatives from the various organizations and interests in Waynesville for the purpose of discussing with them the problem facing us? Would it not

be constructive for someone representing the schools to describe the use we make of commercially sponsored materials and our purpose in using such tools in learning? Would it not be equally helpful for all of us who use these materials to hear the doubts and fears of our public?

I have faith that such a discussion, if we go into it with an open mind yet knowing our purposes and believing in them, would result in some common agreements upon which we could all operate until we are able to discover better solutions. As I see it, our human relations would be vastly improved—not only in respect to this problem but in respect to all phases of the educational program. To me it would be a demonstration of our belief in the scientific method of attacking a problem. I should like to recommend it as a procedure for us to follow.

Very sincerely yours,

Mary Beauchamp

## The Teachers' Page

HYMAN M. BOODISH

*Dobbins Vocational Technical School, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania*

On Saturday morning, December 2, 1950, The Social Studies Club of Philadelphia had as its speaker one of the United States delegates to the UNESCO Conference, "On The Improvement of History Textbooks," held in Brussels this past summer. Dr. Emma L. Bolzau, Head of the Social Studies Department of South Philadelphia High School for Girls, was recommended to the State Department by The National Conference of Social Studies. The honor is proudly shared by all her associates in Philadelphia. We hope to have Dr. Bolzau report to us through *The Teachers' Page* at some future date. In the meantime, I should like to pass on a few of the high points of her talk.

It is not perhaps surprising to learn that the European approach to the teaching of history differs from the American. The Old World feels that history should be taught for history's sake, as a formal discipline. The New World (and the Scandinavian countries also belong in this

group) stresses the practical applications of history. The Americans, according to many of the delegates from the other countries, are guilty of propagandizing democracy.

The teaching of current events, as done in our schools, is foreign to the Europeans. They have no weekly school papers, such as *The American Observer*, *Scholastic*, *Our Times*, and *Young America*. When Dr. Bolzau tried to collect a few of these papers from the State Department to display as samples, the delegates reacted, at first, as if she were distributing propaganda material. The Europeans, apparently, have been so propagandized in the last several decades that they cannot free themselves from regarding almost anything from another country as propaganda. One of our teachers, who served as a lieutenant-colonel in the last war, reported the same reactions in connection with *The Voice of America*. Prisoners of war had had such a continuous siege of



false information that their first reaction to *The Voice of America* was that it was just another brand of lies.

Dr. Bolzau repeated this point several times, that the initial reaction of the other delegates to the Americans had been one of suspicion. Fortunately, by the time the seminar ended there had developed a change in attitude.

American textbooks were both envied and criticized. The envy stemmed from the richly illustrated books we have. In most of the other countries, history textbooks follow the old pattern of history writing, dry and heavy. The adverse reaction to our textbooks concerned content. They were accused of containing too many historical inaccuracies. The delegates were unaware that not every textbook is necessarily accepted by all schools. The one United States textbook, for example, which they cited as containing the historical inaccuracies, happened to be the same one which the Book Listing Committee in Philadelphia (of which Dr. Bolzau is chairman and the writer is a member) had rejected for use in Philadelphia schools. Another fact not fully comprehended by the other delegates was that the competition which exists between the various publishing companies in the United States is in large measure responsible for better written, better organized, and better illustrated textbooks.

The representatives at the Brussels Seminar, according to Dr. Bolzau, simulated a miniature world organization except for the absence of delegates from the Russian orbit. The group made a number of recommendations for UNESCO to initiate, designed to promote better international relations. They are presented here as I reconstructed them from my notes.

1. A compilation of records, songs, and other musical selections suitable for young people. One need hardly comment on the propaganda powers of music in fostering either good or bad international relations.
2. A compilation of appropriate atlases and maps for use in schools. Dr. Bolzau commented about her surprise in discovering that even these media have been used by European countries to promote special brands of nationalism.
3. Encourage and influence textbook writers and publishers to give fair treatment to all nationalities and races. The Arab and

Turkish delegations, for example, criticized American textbooks for portraying the Near Eastern peoples as warlike and ruthless and neglecting to mention their finer attributes.

4. Encourage national associations in each country to cooperate with one another in the exchange of textbooks and other literature, with UNESCO to serve as a clearing house.
5. All children should receive a course in world history before leaving school. Most countries tend to be nationalistic in the way history is taught and interpreted in their own schools.
6. Encourage the exchange of new experiments undertaken in the various countries.

Dr. Bolzau covered a variety of other interesting points not only in connection with her duties as a United States delegate but as a private observer in several of the European countries. The question and discussion period following the presentation raised some interesting problems. One in particular, begs for some comment. The questioner asked whether the Germans had given up the idea of a leader. Dr. Bolzau did not wish to speak authoritatively on it because of her limited experiences in Germany during this trip. In a sense, the answer is obvious, and it applies to all people, although perhaps in lesser degree than it does to the Germans because of their historical conditioning. Whenever people are dissatisfied, they always look for a leader. Unhappiness, discontent, disillusionment, are the seeds out of which leaders, benevolent or otherwise, emerge. That is one lesson which we as students of history must have learned. The danger is not that people seek a leader, but that they may choose the wrong person to lead them. It is a danger that all peoples, not only Germans, face today. Dissatisfaction is current and people are in need of good leaders.

At one of the informal get-togethers of teachers during their lunch hour, the same issue came up for discussion. One teacher expressed the feeling that Europeans are more leader-conscious than Americans. He added, further, that he could not conceive of the people of the United States blindly following a demagogue. Some of the teachers present agreed,

others did not. The opposition cited the period of the last depression, mentioning such figures as Huey P. Long and Father Coughlin as evidence that many of our people easily regressed to the infantile state (or perhaps never went beyond it) of wanting the "almighty father" (in Freudian terminology) to tell them what to do. Regardless of our own personal likes or dislikes for Franklin D. Roosevelt, the first few years of his administration also represented a period of time when the people were ready to accept strong leadership. Even Congress, as one may recall, came to be known as a "rubber-stamp" Congress.

People, of course, differ as to their readiness to succumb to a strong man. The past history of a people—the degree of training it has had in self government and in the practice of being self-sufficient, self-reliant, and independent—is a strong conditioning factor. However, no matter what the nature of the conditioning may have been in the case of any people, the basic psychological principles that come into play

during periods of crisis, dissatisfaction and want cannot be discounted. A nation, both *in toto*, and in smaller groups, tends to react in accordance with the principles of mob or crowd psychology. Discontent, hunger, fear, unemployment and hopelessness as far as the future is concerned, tend to make every individual regress to earlier stages of behavior. Under such conditions individuals blame and find fault with their existing leaders; they look for scapegoats upon whom to cast their own feelings of guilt; and finally, they look for "a father image" that will prove strong enough to pull them out of their morass. Past patterns of behavior, strongly conditioned, may help a people to choose the better of any group of individuals who want to assume leadership, but there is always the danger that under the stress of discontent they may also choose the worse of these leaders.

Can education help? Can or should teachers help guide youth in recognizing (or even choosing) good leaders?

## Visual and Other Aids

IRWIN A. ECKHAUSER

Washington Junior High School, Mount Vernon, N. Y.

A 1950-1951 free catalog can be obtained from Encyclopaedia Britannica Films, Inc.; Wilmette, Ill., listing films available according to subject fields.

Teaching Film Custodians, Inc.  
25 W. 43 Street,  
New York 18, N. Y.  
FILMS

The following are 16 mm. films:

*Servant of the People*. 21 minutes. Apply.

Depicts the story of the making of the American Constitution; takes in the Articles of Confederation.

*Bill of Rights*. 20 minutes. Color. Apply.

Shows the events leading up to these provisions, and ideas that went into the making of the Bill of Rights.

*Give Me Liberty*. 21 minutes. Color. Apply.

Reveals background of Patrick Henry's famous speech.

*Land of Liberty*. 80 minutes. Rent.

Shows a century and a half of American history. Divided into four two-reel units as follows: Reel I—Colonial Period to 1805; Reel II—1805-1860; Reel III—1860-1890; Reel IV—1890-1938.

*What is China*. 23 minutes. Long term lease.

Film shows China—its history, geography, people.

Motion Picture Division  
Harding College  
Searcy, Arkansas  
FILM

*Make Mine Freedom*. 10 minutes. Loan.

Reveals the case against police state philosophies, the frictions which tend to divide us, and the need for cooperation among all groups.

March of Time Forum Edition  
369 Lexington Avenue  
New York 17, N. Y.  
FILM

*Turkey.* 18 minutes. Sale.

Film shows Turkey's importance in international affairs due to location; history from Ottoman Empire to today's struggle to maintain control of the Dardanelles; attempts to modernize economy and education.

Turkish Information Office

444 E. 52 Street  
New York 18, N. Y.

FILMSTRIP

*Modern Turkey.* 40 frames. Free.

History and development of Turkey since its independence.

Encyclopaedia Britannica Films, Inc.

Wilmette, Illinois

FILMS

The following are 16 mm. films:

*People of Hawaii.* 11 minutes. Rent or sale.

Produced in collaboration with Dr. Margaret Mead; shows all-around picture of native life.

*New Turkey.* 30 minutes. Silent. Sale or rent.

Reveals the modernizing of agriculture and industry in this Islamic state.

*Children of China.* 11 minutes. Sale or rent.

Episodes of home, school, and play life of children in a Chinese village.

*Chile.* 11 minutes. Sale or rent.

Shows farm and city life in South American country—Chile.

United World Films

1445 Park Avenue  
New York 20, N. Y.

FILMS

The following are 16 mm. films:

*Farming in South China.* 20 minutes. Sale or rent.

Depicts the tilling of soil in the Si River valley.

*Oriental City.* 20 minutes. Sale or rent.

Study of the habits and customs of urban life in Canton, China.

*Fundo in Chile.* 25 minutes. Sale or rent.

Reveals community life on a large ranch; includes modern farming methods, activities of the school and the church.

Associated Film Artists

30 N. Raymond Avenue  
Pasadena 1, Calif.

FILM

*Understanding the Swiss.* Color. 30 minutes.  
Sale—\$85.

The picture portrays a successful record of

peaceful living within the heart of turbulent Europe. It is the story of a nation, its environment, its work, its government, and its people.

Hollywood Film Enterprises, Inc.

6040 Sunset Blvd.

Hollywood 28, Calif.

FILMS

*People of Chile.* 22 minutes. Sale.

Study of modern Chile, with emphasis upon the various racial backgrounds of its people.

*Southern Chile, Tip of a Continent.* 12 minutes.  
Sale.

Depicts the people, geography, and history of Southern Chile.

Stillfilm, Inc.

8443 Melrose Ave.,

Hollywood 46, Calif.

FILMSTRIPS

*Soviet Russia.* 30 frames. Apply.

Life in Moscow, people and occupations.

*Chile.* (part of South American series). 60 frames. Apply.

Shows geography, the people, their homes, customs, industries and large cities.

United Nations, Dept. of Public Information  
Films and Visual Information Division

Lake Success, N. Y.

FILMSTRIP

*Universal Declaration of Human Rights.* 73 frames. Free loan.

A panoramic glimpse of the need for human dignity, past and present.

Brandon Films, Inc.

1700 Broadway

New York, N. Y.

FILMSTRIP

*U.S.S.R., the Land and the People.* 85 frames.

Customs, life, industries, and cities are shown.

National Conference of Christians and Jews

381 Fourth Avenue

New York 16, N. Y.

FILMSTRIP

*To Secure These Rights.* 50 frames.

A graphic review of the report by the President's Committee on Civil Rights.

Pilgrim Press

14 Beacon St.

Boston 8, Mass.

FILMSTRIP

*Democracy Is Home Made.* 67 frames.



Considers problems of democratic living, emphasizing freedom from fear, freedom of speech, religion, etc.

Current Affairs Films

18 E. 41 Street,  
New York 17, N. Y.

FILMSTRIP

*Statehood for Hawaii.* 38 frames.

Discusses what would happen if Hawaii should become a state.

Current History Films

226 E. 22 Street,  
New York 10, N. Y.

FILMSTRIP

*The History of the American Negro.* 50 frames.

Silent, B. & W.

Tells the story of the Negro's struggle against enslavement, his contributions to American history and culture and his fight for freedom.

Popular Science Publishing Co.

Audio-Visual Division

353 Fourth Avenue  
New York 10, N. Y.

FILMSTRIPS

*The Birth of Our Freedom.* 47 frames. (Our American Heritage)

Shows roots of American freedom in English history; how colonists translated heritage into practice in the New World.

*Freedom's Foundation.* 51 frames.

Reveals the critical days before and during the formation and acceptance of the American Constitution.

Informative Classroom Pictures Publishers

40 Ionia Avenue, N.W.

Grand Rapids, Mich.

FILMSTRIPS

*China.* 64 frames

Scenes of family life, schools, farmers, industrial workers, cities and villages are seen.

*Hawaiian Islands.* 46 frames.

Photographs and a large pictorial map depict life in the Hawaiian Islands.

## News and Comment

R. T. SOLIS-COHEN  
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

### TELEVISION

Nation-wide attention was attracted to an advertisement touting television sets as Christmas gifts which stated that TV provides "sunshine for morale" and "vitamins for the minds" and suggesting that children feel a social inferiority if their homes were not equipped with a television set.

This aroused great indignation among parents, educators and social agencies. Resolutions expressing their sentiments were adopted by the Family Service Association of America and the New York State Teachers Association. The General Assembly of the former declared "it is unmitigated nonsense to assert that television is indispensable to family morale and social acceptance" and asserted that such an advertising theme could have a harmful effect on the emotional health of individual families.

The latter organization held that such advertising is "misleading and pernicious." (*Channels* Vol. 3 No. 7, Dec. 1, 1950) As a result of these and other complaints, the Federal Trade Commission announced that it would investi-

gate to see whether laws regulating advertising had been violated. Ten days later the National Education Association told the Federal Trade Commission that the newspaper advertisement harmed the TV industry and education and

"Both the implications and the language of the advertisement of the American Television Dealers and Manufacturers are misleading."

A spokesman for the advertiser is said to have stated that this "negative" approach would be eliminated from the remaining ads in the series.

That television can be used as an educational medium is recognized by the American Council of Education, the Association for Education by Radio, the Association of Land Grant Colleges and Universities, the National Association of State Universities, the National Council of Chief State School Officers, the National Education Association, and the United States Office of Education. These seven organizations, represented by the Joint Committee on Educational Television, asked the Federal Communications

Commission to set aside a number of television channels for strictly non-commercial educational use. (*Channels*)

An outstanding example of television-in-education is the Philadelphia project, the largest of its kind, and the brain child of Dr. Edwin W. Adams, Associate Superintendent of Schools. Since September, 1948, special programs have been telecast specifically for classroom reception to public, private, and parochial schools.

Television has certain advantages. It is a means of audio-visual communication having the unique appeal of spontaneity. (Betty Levin: "Television and the Schools" *The Harvard Educational Review*, Fall, 1950.) It stimulates the child's and adult's interest and widens the horizons of both parents and children.

Even the most severe critics of the harmful influence of television admit that it permits demonstration and teaching of skills. One example is the program on which crafts are taught by the Oklahoma Community Workshop and the "What Do You Know" program managed by the students and faculty of Millerville State Teachers College, Pa. Another example is the agricultural instruction given to farmers. "It's difficult to tell a man how to set strawberry plants or to prune a tree, but on television you can show him how to do it." Telecasts of delicate surgical operations give medical students a closer view than they could possibly get from seats in the surgical amphitheatre. They also allow a surgeon at a medical convention to demonstrate to thousands of physicians the details of an operative procedure.

The protagonists of television believe that telecasts of Congress in session would combat political apathy, encourage better citizenship and develop an alert electorate. They even think that telecasting would successfully promote religious tolerance. (Frank Riley and James A. Peterson: "The Social Impact of Television," *Survey*, November, 1950)

Television entertains and in so doing educates informally. It discourages visiting and frequenting taverns and cocktail lounges. It keeps children quiet and "occupied" and helps Mom.

However, the dangers of children's spending a large proportion of their time watching television involve certain hazards to their physical

and mental health. Healthy children should be engaged in active, noisy, spontaneous play in the fresh air, out of doors. Moreover, staying up late watching the screen robs them of necessary sleep and thus is just as harmful as their not going to bed in order to complete absurdly long homework assignments.

Television fosters passivity and vicarious participation. Children sit indoors in a darkened room for several hours. Devotion to television programs frequently interferes with the children's meals, their homework, and proper bedtime habits.

Some thoughtful persons are deeply concerned with support and control of educational telecasts. One such person, Mrs. Levin, points to the industry's preoccupation with the sales function. Though the industry allows the school to present an educational broadcast as a public service, Mrs. Levin points out that "the boss, the final arbiter, is not the school which gratefully accepts the favor, but the industry which so generously grants it." She indicates the danger of permitting education to become entirely dependent on the industry. The passivity fostered by watching telecasts and the control of the medium by a small group of people are regarded as a potential menace to the continuation of a democratic society.

What can we learn from the methods employed by other English-speaking countries for coping with television? Our neighbor to the north does not yet have television. There Canadian educators, profiting from the experience of the United States, have asked the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation to develop educational programs for use on the first Canadian stations, scheduled to be opened in Toronto and Montreal in September, 1951.

Across the sea, in Great Britain, the pioneer in the industry, television is a non-competitive public corporation. Its facilities are much more limited than those in the United States. Program content stresses the drama from Shakespeare to Shaw, devoting only ten per cent of the televised total to sports.

Television, like the whole of education, must develop in the United States in accordance with the special needs of the people of our own country and with due regard to the dangers to American civilization inherent in commercial control and support of ideas over video.

# Book Reviews and Book Notes

DAVID W. HARR

*Head, Department of Social Studies, Abraham Lincoln High School, Philadelphia*

*American State Government and Administration.* By Austin F. MacDonald. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1950. Pp. xxxi, 721. \$4.00.

This text, in its fourth edition and twenty-third printing, retains its original two-part division into government and administration but it is brought up to date by many additions and changes in emphasis.

Part One, State Government, is made up of fifteen chapters which consider the background of state government, the relationship of states to the federal government and to other states, state elections, the legislative, executive and judicial departments of states and the government of cities and counties. Part Two, State Administration, is a critical, realistic study of the functions of state government. The relationship of the state to health, welfare, correction, education, highways, business and labor is treated in separate chapters. Other chapters deal with administrative organization, personnel, expenditures, revenue and law enforcement.

The text is kept up to date, not only by the factual presentation of recent changes in the organization of state government, but also by giving more attention to problems which have become the major issues at the present time. The relationship of the state to the federal government in such fields as labor legislation, welfare, industry, public medicine and veterans has become more complicated. The last chapter which has been added to this edition, "War and Its Aftermath," discusses the position of the state in regard to our defense program and the problems of the veterans. In the chapter on labor the various federal labor laws, including the Taft-Hartley Act, are discussed in some detail as a background to the legislative problems of the state in this field.

The usefulness of the book is increased by many quotations and examples which are well selected to develop various concepts or to illustrate the problems of the state. MacDonald very thoroughly treats the problem of rate-

fixing by state agencies. Some, however, may feel that the problem of city representation in the state legislature could have been given more consideration. In regard to the powers of the federal government many are familiar with Marshall's statement that "the power to tax involves the power to destroy." Fewer are aware, as the author brings out, that this idea has been superseded by the words of Holmes: "The power to tax is not the power to destroy while this court sits."

The thorough treatment of subject matter, the many footnotes, the objective consideration of opposing views, the very complete index, the model State Constitution which follows the last chapter, the thought-provoking problems and the well selected references at the end of each chapter—all contribute to the usefulness of this text.

FRANK FAIRBANK

Board of Education  
Baltimore, Maryland

*The Pageant of Russian History.* By Elizabeth Seeger. New York: Longmans, Green and Company, 1950. Pp. 433. \$4.50.

This book will prove to be stimulating and rewarding reading for busy persons who are desirous of acquiring by the "quick-and-easy" method some sound information about Russia from its earliest days to very recent times. While it is the result of a great deal of study and an enviable knowledge of Russian life, literature, and culture, the book is obviously intended for popular reading.

With remarkable economy of words and with great discrimination in the selection of material, Miss Seeger has produced a fascinating account of more than one thousand years of Russian history. It is both a colorful and a sombre drama of the evolution of a people from their advent on the land, through the dark years of disunity and of life under the yoke of ruthless invaders, through long periods of victimization by quarreling and avaricious princes,



to the emergence, triumph and collapse of tsardom, and the cataclysms out of which the present regime has succeeded to power.

As the panorama unfolds, one becomes acquainted with the famous and the infamous among Russia's sovereigns, with the sorrows and the pleasures of the little people, with the verve and daring of the Cossacks, with the defection of some of the intelligentsia and the rise of the reform movement, and with the tragic and ignominious end of the Romanov Dynasty. Always there is turbulence, chaos, and violence; occasionally there are spectacles of pomp and ceremony, gorgeous glitter and dazzling glamour in court and church life.

Some readers will be disappointed that there are only two chapters devoted to the Soviet period; and that there is a notable lack of emphasis on the development of foreign policy—both in the imperial and Soviet regime. However, there are no dull chapters, and with an astonishingly brief expenditure of time the reader is able to learn how the evils, abuses, and negligences of the old regime contributed to the revolutions of twentieth century Russia. The artistic illustrations at the head of each chapter, as well as the maps, are a decided asset.

*The Pageant of Russian History* will provide illuminating reading for those who are curious about the primitive years and about life in Holy Mother Russia in the days when Orthodoxy, Autocracy, and Folkdom were the keystones of imperial policy.

MARGARET T. HALLIGAN

State Teachers College  
Cortland, New York

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*Out of My Later Years.* By Albert Einstein.  
New York: Philosophical Library, 1950. Pp. lx, 282. \$4.75.

"I live in that solitude which is painful in youth, but delicious in the years of maturity," writes Albert Einstein in the prefatory self-portrait to this series of thoughtful essays on a wide variety of topics.

They portray a philosophy which is the result of mature deliberation, and at the same time convey a strange impression of impersonality, for these do not seem to be so much the opinions of a particular scientist as they seem to represent the dignified and almost incontro-

vertible reflections of wise men through many ages. In this case, we can see the interesting and logical results of applying the scientific mind to the rationalization of human problems.

The collection of various writings over many years includes discussions of personal convictions and beliefs, scientific theories, public affairs, problems of the atomic age, a few famous personalities, and some problems of the Jewish people.

For the reader who may question the authority of a scientist, who is known particularly for his concentration in the field of physics, to speak with equal authority about the abstract problems of human nature and society, Einstein has a satisfactory answer. The scientist can only supply the means to attain the ends; but the ends can only be achieved by individual personalities with worthy ideals. Writing from this standpoint, he believes that the planned economy of socialism is a better aim for society than "the economic anarchy of capitalistic society," but admits the tremendous responsibility involved in proper education toward such a goal, and the danger of incurring complete enslavement in the process. On world government, he advocates a process of "denationalization" which he believes can be the only solution for the establishment of one world and one world government, instead of a trend towards two worlds and two ideologies.

It is worth reflective and critical reading. It represents the serious concern of a great scientist who sees a world which has the machines, the inventions and the weapons which scientists have provided, but a world without much evidence of the courage or trust or intelligence to use them properly.

FREDERIC S. KLEIN

Franklin & Marshall College.

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*A Diary From Dixie.* By Mary Boykin Chestnut, edited by Ben Ames Williams. New York, N. Y.: Houghton, Mifflin Co., 1949. Pp. xxiii, 372. \$3.75.

Before she died in 1886, Mrs. Chestnut edited for publication her *Diary from Dixie*, but she omitted names and events that the new editor, Ben Ames Williams, thinks now the public have a right to know. To all readers, especially those interested in the leading fam-

ilies in the Confederacy, the book is a treasure trove.

As Mary Boykin Miller she married at seventeen, James Chestnut, Senator, and later a Confederate general, an adviser of President Jefferson Davis, and the owner of large plantations and many slaves.

With her husband in Washington politics, in Richmond, Montgomery, and on her Mulberry and other plantations, Mrs. Chestnut entertained generously the famous men of the South. She had a charm for men and for young girls. Her handsome husband too attracted them. From the plantations they obtained all the meats, poultry, fruits, vegetables, and the store of precious wines from Europe. Even in the last days at Richmond when the poor were starving, Mrs. Chestnut and her circle gave large and extravagant dinners and balls. She said these entertainments were in honor of the visits on leave of the exhausted and disheartened officers. These same ladies took food to the hospitals and spent several hours a day in nursing. They aided the beautiful girls to find bridal clothes; they attended the funerals of the young heroes in the churches; they gave concerts, theatricals, and fairs to raise money for new guns and new hospitals; and they indulged their many slaves in luxury and in indolence. As wives, Southerners were obedient and devoted.

With a light, humorous, but at times cynical touch, Mrs. Chestnut tells of the many tragedies in the families of the Boykins, the Wade Hamptons, the beautiful Prestons, the Randolphs, the Wigfalls, and hundreds of others listed in the long index. The Chestnuts had no children of their own, but they came of large families, and entertained their many young relatives. Mrs. Chestnut's report of the quarrels in the Confederate cabinet and in the army is enlightening.

S. A. WALLACE

3021 Newark Street  
Washington, D. C.

*Lincoln Finds a General.* By Kenneth P. Williams. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1949. 2 vols. Pp. xxiv, 902. \$12.50.

This is a very interesting and readable survey of the military campaigns of the Civil War,

beginning with Fort Sumter and culminating in the battle of Gettysburg. Its object is to convince the reader that President Lincoln, in his prolonged—and oftentimes painful—search for a victorious general, could not have selected a better commander-in-chief than U. S. Grant. In fact, the author,—a professor of mathematics at the University of Indiana who has had extensive military experience,—admiringly refers to the conqueror of Vicksburg as “the man of the hour.” Not only is Grant “in many ways the most profitable and inspiring of all generals to study,” whose offensive spirit left the enemy no rest, but he “was also an original contributor to military art and science” in that he solved difficult strategic problems in his own way. (I, Preface, p. ix.) Indeed, Williams staunchly defends his hero against all detractors, both North and South. In a sense, therefore, his book attempts to do for Grant what D. S. Freeman has so brilliantly done for Lee.

To prove that Grant was the indispensable man,—whose campaigns will be treated more fully in forthcoming volumes,—the author, at considerable length, reviews and evaluates the military records of Scott, McDowell, McClellan, Halleck, Pope, Burnside, and Hooker. Not one of them, by comparison, attains the stature of Grant, while Lincoln, on the other hand, emerges as a political leader with superior military intelligence. Surprisingly enough, Williams has many kind words for Pope, whom he rates even higher than McClellan. Unlike many other Union generals, “Pope was never to have the chance to show that he had learned from a mistake.” (I, p. 357). As for McClellan, he is portrayed as a pretty sorry figure,—a vain, pompous, selfish, hypocritical individual,—whose military abilities have been grossly exaggerated. He is blamed for the “defeats” of the Peninsular Campaign and Antietam. In fact, several chapters are devoted to a sweeping condemnation of his record and military competence.

Defenders of McClellan, while admitting some of his personal shortcomings, do not regard the Peninsular Campaign as a total failure, particularly since it was prematurely terminated by Washington authorities. Moreover, Lincoln considered the repulse of Lee at Antietam as a successful engagement, so much so that he utilized the occasion to issue his Emancipa-

tion Proclamation. A more thorough analysis of the political currents at the time, in so far as they affected McClellan's own views and ultimate objectives, would put him in a more favorable light. At any rate, it is safe to say that these volumes will not end the controversy over "Little Mac" nor over any other aspect of the Civil War for that matter. Rather, they will provoke more discussion.

For his sources of information the author relies very heavily on the *Official Records*,—perhaps too much so, since they do not, by any means, tell the whole story. In all fairness, however, he has consulted other documentary material, as his extended remarks in the appendix will indicate. His remarkable familiarity with technical military matters is rather impressive. The numerous maps and illustrations greatly enrich the text. Above all, the unusually clear organization and presentation, as well as the lucid style, will hold the interest of the reader. Indeed, Kenneth Williams has made a real contribution to the military history of the Civil War. His forthcoming volumes are awaited with keen anticipation.

RICHARD H. BAUER

University of Maryland  
College Park, Maryland

*The Road to Pearl Harbor; The Coming of the War Between the United States and Japan.*

By Herbert Feis. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1950. Pp. xii, 356. \$5.00.

At a time when the threat of another world war is facing the American people, few social studies teachers, regardless of grade level or course content, can ignore the question of how wars come about, and of the efforts, successful or not, by which previous leaders have sought to avoid war.

The author of the present study is a one-time adviser in the State Department, and he has had access to a wide variety of official documents, both American and Japanese; he has also been allowed to use many private papers and diaries not yet available to the general public. Buttressed by thorough and accurate scholarship, he has appraised the progression of events with detachment and a high degree of objectivity. This is not dramatized propaganda, but a serious search for the truth. There are flashes of wit, and occasional use of

the colorful phrase. This is a "heavy" study, but it is not dull.

It is, of course, serious, scholarly, adult reading. Few students below college age could profit from its reading—or would even make the attempt. Teachers, however, should read this; especially if they have been exposed to the invidious *President Roosevelt and the Coming of the War, 1941*, by the late Charles A. Beard. High school teachers may find that good students will enjoy reading specific assignments in this, if they have been properly prepared to understand and appreciate it.

RALPH ADAMS BROWN

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*The Making of Modern America.* By Leon H. Canfield and Howard B. Wilder with the specialized editorial assistance of Howard R. Anderson, Ellis Merton Coulter, John D. Hicks, Nelson P. Mead and Robert M. Chapin, Jr., Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1950. Pp. lxxix, 781. \$3.56.

This is a new book based upon an earlier text, *The United States in the Making*, by the same authors. The forty-four chapters are divided into three units: *Early America Develops*, *Modern America Emerges*, *Modern America Matures*. The emphasis is placed upon the modern period and the attempts made to solve its perplexing problems in politics, economics and government.

The pages, approximately 6½" by 9 3/8", permit a two-column arrangement. Greater readability results from the shorter lines. The introduction, entitled *Your America*, is designed to attract the reader. It is a series of colored pictures, maps and dramatized statistics. A similar section with "eye-appeal" makes up the conclusion and is called *Your Government*.

Devices which will interest teachers are: lists of terms, people and dates, discussion questions, check-up questions, activities, unit summaries and sidelights on American history. Excellent lists of references and pictures are given at the end of each unit. Unit organization charts and chapter time-charts are also valuable additions.

A careful analysis shows the work to be accurate, comprehensive and logically arranged.



The language is clear and simple; the type style is unusually legible; the illustrations are superb. The only question in this reader's mind is this: Is the book too large and too heavy for use as a high-school text?

IRENE O'BRIEN

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*Catholic Social Thought.* By Melvin J. Williams.  
New York: The Ronald Press Company,  
1950. Pp. xv, 567, \$5.00.

This study of Catholic social thought by a non-Catholic sociologist is an exposition of the origins and development of the social thought of Roman Catholic scholars. The author has approached his difficult task objectively, with a scholarly appreciation of the work and convictions of those who differ from him in religion and philosophy; and has completed it without manifesting the least prejudice. The work is well organized and covers the entire field of social thought, with emphasis on modern aspects of Catholic sociology.

Exception will be taken by Catholics to some of the author's descriptions of the development of Catholic thought and to some of his explanations of Catholic tradition. The author has not the Catholic's appreciation of the sense of social responsibility and the efficiency of social control that characterized medieval Christian culture. His exposition of the traditional Catholic concept of private property ownership is inadequate, possibly for that very reason. Inadequate, too, is his treatment of supernatural revelation in his description of religious development. While the Catholic realizes that revealed truths may become "discolored by human fallibility," he believes that his is the one true Church, divine and infallible. Supernatural revelation is for him, therefore, safeguarded for all time from error and corruption.

It will surprise many to find Francis Bacon listed as a Catholic. And Catholics, at least, will wonder why a priest who was also a Mason (and for that reason excommunicated outside the Church) is treated as a Catholic.

St. Augustine, Bishop of Hippo, lived from 354 to 430. It was another St. Augustine, Archbishop of Canterbury, who died in 604. The confusion of the two betrays the author's lack of familiarity with the life and times of the Bishop of Hippo, whose contributions to

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social thought he dismisses with a comment borrowed from Troeltsch. Another error in the date of a death is that of Gregor Mendel, who survived the reading of his scientific paper on genetics by nearly twenty years.

In spite of these and other shortcomings, the work of Dr. Williams is a welcome and valuable contribution to the growing literature in the field of social thought. It is to be hoped that the demand for this work will encourage the author to undertake an early revision, perhaps in collaboration with someone with a background in Catholic theology and philosophy.

RICHARD M. PLUNKETT

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*The Police State, What You Want to Know About the Soviet Union.* By Craig Thompson. New York: E. P. Dutton & Company, Inc., 1950. Pp. 257. \$3.00.

In the years since the close of World War II a plethora of information about the Soviet Union has come to us from the minds and pens of diplomats, correspondents, "renegade" Communists, pro-Communists, impartial students, and scholarly researchers. Yet the American market does not seem glutted nor the literary appetite of the American public satiated. In *The Police State*, Craig Thompson has ably shown his ability to make a further contribution to the current literature about the Leninist-Stalinist state; which contribution, though including many facets of the Soviet regime already widely written about, marks him as a shrewd observer, keen analyst, and competent writer.

Mr. Thompson went to the U.S.S.R. in 1945 as Moscow correspondent for *Time* and *Life*. After two years of on-the-spot observing and reporting, as well as copious note-taking, Mr. Thompson returned to the United States with the fourteen pounds of notes which he smuggled out of Moscow. Following a series of extension lectures delivered at Johns Hopkins University to a diversified audience, he decided to write his book.

Whether *The Police State* is actually "What you want to know about the Soviet Union" is a matter for the individual reader to judge. As the title implies, there is nothing pleasant or enviable about life in the U.S.S.R., from Mr. Thompson's point of view. In fact he leaves the reader wondering how 190,000,000 people

can find life supportable in a regime of such ruthlessness, arbitrariness, despotism, and economic insufficiency. Throughout the gamut of his topics there seems to be no prospect of alleviation, nor mitigation, no *quid pro quo*, no hope for the masses; just an unrelieved existence of oppression, misery, malnutrition, and deprivation of liberties for all except a handful of élite.

Mr. Thompson has an enjoyable literary style and utilizes specific incidents and actual case histories to substantiate his conclusions. His book takes on vitality and appeal when the reader realizes how the ramifications of the Soviet system actually affect the collective farm worker, the young student, the industrial worker, the suspected non-conformer, the "emancipated" woman, the slave laborer.

The book contains a brief resumé of the developments in the months preceding the Bolshevik seizure of power—a condensation which is made with only a few minor errors. The chapters on the mysterious and exalted incumbents of the Politburo, on the method of conducting elections, the operation of the police and the courts, life in the homes with their communal kitchens, and on the emancipation of women, provide excellent opportunities for learning much about the "dictatorship of the proletariat."

For teachers distressed about the conditions in over-crowded American schools, the chapter on "Education" will prove rewarding reading. Not only does it contain a comprehensive delineation of the structure of the educational system, but it quotes verbatim "advice" from the administration on methods of discipline.

If the author has a mission beyond that of conveying information to the reader, it would seem to be that of attempting to arouse the American public and officialdom to a realization of the dangers inherent in our naiveté, good-will, optimism, or indifference with respect to Communist aims. However, there are no concrete suggestions offered as to a course of procedure. Perhaps Mr. Thompson has been immeasurably aided in his purpose of jolting the American people by the regrettable developments in two such geographically distant points as South Korea and Lake Success.

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